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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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27 November 1984

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION HOLDS SIXTH CONGRESS

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 p 2

[Editorial: "The Road of Solidarity and Struggle"]

[Text]

In late May, the Sixth AAPSO Congress, meeting at the Palace of Congresses in Algiers, brought together envoys from over a hundred mass national and international democratic movements, revolutionary and democratic parties, national liberation movements, and representatives of socialist countries.

With great interest the prominent public figures heard the message to the congress from Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. "Your gathering," the message stresses, "is taking place in the conditions of aggravated international situation fraught with the nuclear war threat. The ruling quarters of the United States bear direct responsibility for the current situation. In a bid to reverse the course of history, they are whipping up the arms race and pursuing a policy of state terrorism towards many independent countries. Aggressive imperialist strategy in Europe is accompanied by launching local conflicts in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the Indian Ocean. The danger of militarisation of outer space is also growing."

The message contains a high appreciation of the part played by the newly independent countries, the nonaligned movement and broad progressive social forces throughout Asia and Africa, including the AAPSO, in the struggle against imperialist aggressive forces and for an urgent and just solution of the problems facing Asia and Africa. The Soviet leader's words of praise raised even higher the authority of the Algiers forum and gave fresh inspiration to the Asian and African peoples fighting for peace, security and socio-economic progress.

Addressing the Congress, AAPSO Secretary-General Nouri Abdel Razzaq, leaders of the movements for liberating South Africa and Namibia A. Nzo and Sam Nujoma, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee Yassir Arafat, the head of the Libyan delegation Abdel Ati Obeydi and others expressed their grave concern over the dangerous escalation of international tensions and the growing threat of nuclear war. The deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe and plans to deploy such missiles in a number of Asian and African countries, as well as in the Indian and Pacific Oceans ma-

ke it absolutely clear that the Reagan Administration's policies are spearheaded not only against the socialist community, but also against the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Western imperialism is doing everything possible to split the campaign for peace, freedom and independence, to draw the newly independent countries into the gruelling arms race, arrest their economic and cultural advancement, sow discord and strife between neighbours, paving the way for Western interference in their internal affairs.

At the same time the speakers noted with satisfaction that the aggressive anti-people policies of imperialism are being countered by an unprecedented upsurge in the anti-war and anti-imperialist movement involving hundreds of millions of people on all continents. These peace movements have become stronger, socially more representative and better organised.

A long speech at the Congress was delivered by the head of the Soviet delegation, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze.

One of the most important issues discussed at the Congress was the growing struggle between the newly independent countries and the imperialist powers in the economic sphere. The speakers stressed that the Soviet Union supports the nonaligned countries' programme for a radical restructuring of world economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The USSR is in favour of general negotiations to be held within the UN on all world economic issues.

Speakers from various countries maintained that economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states is vitally important to the developing countries fighting neocolonialism and striving to build independent national economies. The principles, content and aims of such cooperation make it an entirely new type of international relations, and to a certain extent it prevents Western monopolies from exploiting African and Asian countries and gives them a firmer foothold in their economic battle with imperialism.

In its final documents adopted at the Sixth Congress, the AAPSO expressed its readiness to deepen cooperation with all international organisations, including the UN, with the nonaligned movement and with all democratic public bodies opposing imperialism and militarism. The Congress called on the world public to step up their opposition to militarism, neocolonialism and imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

The Sixth AAPSO Congress expressed its sympathy and support for the just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs, Lebanon and Syria against US-Israeli aggression, for the struggle of Afghanistan and Kampuchea against imperialist interference in their internal affairs, and for Southern African, Central American and all other nations and states fighting for their legitimate right to independence and to live in freedom. "Our future, the future of mankind is in our own hands," it was said at the Congress. "Only we ourselves can translate into reality our hopes and dreams for a better tomorrow. And there is only one road leading to such a future: the road of solidarity and struggle."

AFRO-ASIAN STATES' ROLE IN PEACE MOVEMENT LAUDED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 6-9, 12

[Article by Victor Sidenko: "Peace: The Only Alternative"]

[Text]

At the dawn of Soviet power Lenin wrote of the beginning of "a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind".* The awakening of the peoples of Asia, Africa and, in recent years, of Oceania from their age-old colonial lethargy has become an established fact. At the cost of immense efforts and great sacrifices, these peoples have moved towards a new and independent life. As a result of an intensified national liberation struggle by the Asian and African peoples, actively supported by the countries of the socialist community, the colonial empires collapsed, and scores of young independent states sprang up in their place.

Today, the world of the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania is surprisingly diverse. It unites over 90 independent countries, i. e., more than 50 per cent of all states in the world. They include big and small countries, densely and scarcely populated ones, rich states and countries with the world's lowest per capita income. Their traditions and their destinies are different. Their socio-political images also differ: at the one extreme are the states with a socialist orientation, while at the other are feudal monarchies and countries that have embarked on capitalist development. Between them there is a whole range of various socio-political hues, which is exceptionally changeable.

In such a motley of countries, a kaleidoscope of regimes, it might seem difficult to find common fea-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

tures and discern the laws of development inherent in them. Nevertheless, they do exist. An important law that is making itself felt with force today is manifested in the ever-growing influence of the newly-free countries on developments in the world, and their vigorous interference in the settlement of world affairs.

These countries have long ceased to be a "thing in themselves". Their awakening was followed by the emergence of these countries on the international arena as an active independent political force, constituting an important new factor in international affairs.

The strength of this factor and the degree of its impact on the course of world developments are not, of course, determined by merely the numerical strength of this particular group of states. The most important thing is that, in spite of the differences between their regimes, these countries act as one on many cardinal issues of today, overcoming socio-political distinctions and exerting, on the whole, a positive influence on the world situation.

This makes itself felt in particularly bold relief in their stand in relation to such key current issues as that of war and peace. The voices of Asian and African countries in defence of universal peace, against the arms race and for detente are becoming increasingly weighty and authoritative, and their practical contribution to the common efforts by all peoples, aimed at improving the international situation and rebuffing the forces of aggression and imperialism, are becoming ever more tangible. With every passing year, people in the developing countries become increasingly aware that the struggle for peace concerns not only the great powers, but all countries and peoples. In the newly-free countries imperialism found a new and formidable enemy, whereas the champions of peace and international cooperation have a powerful supplementary source of energy of thousands upon thousands of new active fighters.

The forms of participation by the newly-free Asian and African countries in the anti-war struggle and in repulsing the hegemonic ambitions of the claimants to world domination are diverse. They include mass marches for peace, weeks of peace, national conferences, symposia and seminars by fighters for peace, and the publication of anti-war literature.

In some countries, organisations of peace champions constitute an influential social force.

For example, the All-India Organisation of Peace and Solidarity operates successfully in many states of the country. It has branches in all big Indian

cities. The Organisation holds meetings and get-togethers, and publishes the **Peace and Solidarity** monthly in English and local languages. The population itself takes part in financing its activities, which testifies to the organisation's high prestige among the people. On the eve of a campaign, the All-India Organisation of Peace and Solidarity collects money among the population. Everyone who supports its aims regards it as his duty to donate several rupees to the fund.

The Committee for Disarmament, Peace and Solidarity in the Philippines also enjoys mass support and prestige. It was set up in 1982, including the former Philippine Peace Council, TUPAS, KAMPIL, the biggest trade union associations, and so on. At present, the Committee unites more than 20 mass organisations with dozens of thousands of members, including factory and office workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals. On the initiative of the Committee, national conferences of peace champions have been held, as well as numerous symposia and seminars. The Committee publishes information bulletins and disseminates anti-war literature. There are several such organisations.

THE SCOPE OF THE STRUGGLE

The anti-militaristic movement in the newly-free Asian and African countries is rapidly going beyond the national framework and becoming a major factor in international life.

First, this is seen in the implementation of anti-war measures on a regional level. For example, a regional conference of the countries of Asia and the Pacific was held in New Delhi in August 1983. It was attended by 50 delegates from 16 countries of the region. The speeches there mirrored a profound concern for the future of mankind. They also laid bare the criminal essence of the arms race and the designs for conducting so-called limited nuclear wars. The conference demonstrated convincingly that the fate of dozens of young states and their hopes for a better future are linked indissolubly with the policy of peace and disarmament. The speakers emphasised the urgent need for the unfolding of a mass movement for peace.

Second, the mass solidarity movement of Asian and African countries, now uniting more than 80 national organisations, adds particular scope to anti-war and anti-imperialist activities in the developing countries. In particular, the statements made by the Standing Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) "Against the Arms

Race and the Threat of a World War", "Against the Manufacture of Neutron Bomb", and "Against the Deployment of New Nuclear Missiles in Europe" (October 20, 1983) evoked a positive response in Asian and African countries. As a result of the AAPSO Appeal, a campaign was launched against "Euromissiles" in various Afro-Asian countries.

Third, the coordination and interaction of the struggle for peace in the developing countries with the world peace movement is becoming ever more close. This finds its expression, among other things, in the vigorous participation of representatives from developing countries in the activities of the World Peace Council, which includes national committees of peace champions from 77 countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania (all in all, 139 countries are members of the World Peace Council).

The anti-war movement in the developing countries raised its voice resolutely in favour of peace at the world assembly, "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" held in Prague from June 21 to 26, 1983. It was a highly representative forum with 40 per cent of the delegates coming from Asia, Africa and Latin America. They made a palpable contribution to the success of that world rally, promoting its decisive anti-war mood and enriching its work with new ideas and specific proposals. The participants in the dialogue, "War Danger and the Problems of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America" held within the framework of the Prague forum, came out with an important initiative for "consolidating ties and cooperation between the anti-war movements in Europe and the USA with the forces of peace and liberation movements in the developing countries, with the purpose of creating a united front".

NATO "NUCLEAR HOOP"

At the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, however, through the fault of imperialism, primarily US imperialism, the world found itself cast back to a time largely reminiscent of the cold war years. This was a direct response by imperialism to the positive changes in the world, which had occurred during the period of detente, including in the developing countries. Even US politicians make no secret of this. Robert McFarlain, US Presidential Adviser on National Security Matters, frankly admitted that the overall trend in the developments in the newly-free countries was unfavourable to the West. Soon it became quite clear what methods were used to "reverse history": the developing countries immediately felt the aggravation of the international situa-

tion and the "big stick" policy was again applied.

The doctrine of "rolling back" the liberation movement, which became part and parcel of the Reagan-sponsored "crusade" against communism, and actually against all forces of progress and national liberation, also bears on the economic sphere. With imperial arrogance, Washington rejects the demands voiced by the developing countries, insisting upon equitable economic relations with the Western states, headed by the USA. Placing emphasis on a military confrontation with the liberation movement, the Reagan administration took a negative and non-constructive stand as regards the programme of a new international economic order. This was clearly demonstrated at the North-South Meeting in Cancun (Mexico) in 1981. The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, succumbing to US pressure, passed a decision to reduce considerably loans and credits to the developing countries from January 1984.

The US Administration spares no effort to boost the arms race in the developing countries, which is pernicious to them, and has proclaimed outright that the sale of military hardware is an instrument of its foreign policy. Moreover, the lion's share of the supplies of US armaments is still sent to the regimes that Washington regards as the most reliable outposts of imperialism in the developing world.

The nuclear threat created by imperialism causes strong anxiety in the developing countries. The progressive public in those countries exposes and rejects outright the doctrine of a limited nuclear war, unmasking its untenability and the danger it poses to peace, to the world at large and to the developing countries in particular.

This is why the response of the public in the developing countries to the stationing of "Euromissiles" was so vigorous. This problem is not only a European, but a worldwide one. It bears on the life and security of millions upon millions of people throughout the world. N. Abdel Razzak, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation stated: "While stationing Pershing-2s and cruise missiles in Western Europe, the United States is raising a nuclear fist over the whole of mankind. This fist should be halted".

The newly-free countries have their own special reasons for concern in connection with the nuclear arms race launched by imperialism. The nuclear threat has been approaching their own borders. According to estimates by the Brookings Institute, the USA has, at least 31 times, considered the possibility of using nuclear weapons in regional conflicts

in overseas theatres of military operations, i. e., chiefly against the newly-free countries.

In view of the fact that, at one time, President Reagan actively favoured the nuclear bombing of Vietnam, no one can be sure that such schemes are not cherished in the USA now with respect to other countries. At any rate, nuclear blackmail has already become an integral part of the policy of confrontation between imperialism and the developing countries. The fact that the Pentagon has ordered many more Pershing-2 and cruise missiles than it plans to station in Western Europe alone has not escaped the attention of the public in the developing countries.

Powerful nuclear forces are already concentrated in the Indian Ocean, whence they threaten independent states with a population amounting to a third of all mankind. There are 30 US military bases in the Indian Ocean, including the base on Diego Garcia Island, where nuclear weapons have been stockpiled. Eight hundred neutron warheads have already been brought there. According to the Washington-based journal **Middle East Research and Information Report**, in 1984 all US warships and submarines in the Indian Ocean will be equipped with missiles with nuclear warheads of greater capacity and longer range. Tank and artillery units, as well as the marines making up part of the rapid deployment force, are also equipped with nuclear weapons. According to foreign press estimates, \$30 billion will be spent on expanding the US military presence in the Indian Ocean.

The complex of nuclear missile bases in Japan, Micronesia and the Philippines is adjacent in the East to the US nuclear arsenal in the Indian Ocean. They comprise the core of the second biggest grouping of US armed forces outside that country after Western Europe. From there they are capable of threatening the entire Far East, Southeast and South Asia. To shore up their military presence here, the Americans plan to set up an "iron triangle", a new military bloc consisting of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul, and to station there ten more Trident atomic submarines with missiles of a new type.

To the West of the Indian Ocean, the "nuclear arch" of imperialism is becoming, as it were, forked. One of its branches, via the system of military bases in Pakistan (Ormara and Hivini), Oman, Kenya, Sudan and Somalia, is linked with Israel, united with Washington by the fetters of strategic cooperation. According to press reports, the Zionist state already possesses the material basis for manufacturing nuclear weapons. Today it is insisting that the Americans transfer to them Pershing-2 missiles

and has already begun building sites for their stationing. The US Sixth Fleet, with nuclear weapons on board, is an integral part of that branch of the "nuclear arch". This "branch" is lengthened even further by the 112 US cruise missiles to be stationed in Comiso (Sicily). From here, imperialism will be able to take aim at all of North Africa and the Middle and Near East.

The Southern branch of the NATO "nuclear arch" consists of the nuclear potential of South Africa which the USA has declared its "historical ally". Worthy of mention are foreign press reports that in the southern part of Cape Province, preparations are under way for testing medium-range missiles and also G-5 and G-6 howitzers capable of shooting nuclear shells. According to the South African **Rand Daily Mail** (December 22, 1983), the development and manufacture of nuclear and chemical weapons is carried out in South Africa with the direct cooperation of the USA and other NATO countries.

Thus, the whole of the developing world of Asia and Africa finds itself as if encircled by the "nuclear hoop" of NATO and the USA. The life of the peoples on those continents, in the shadow of US missiles, has become a sinister reality. This anxiety is becoming increasingly materialised in the struggle for peace and security of nations, and against the arms race and the nuclear threat.

PARTNERS IN STRUGGLE

The anti-war movement in the Asian and African countries is evolving in the conditions of acute ideological confrontation between the forces of peace and those of imperialist aggression. In a bid to cut short the anti-war actions in the developing countries and resorting to slander, falsification and deceit, imperialism and reaction are banking, first and foremost, on wresting them from other contingents of the anti-war movement—in Europe, the USA and, particularly, from the leading anti-war force of our day and age, i. e., the socialist world and the Soviet Union. The forces opposing these tactics in Asia and Africa include countries with a socialist orientation, communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the working class, trade unions, progressive intellectuals and other patriotic quarters of the Afro-Asian world. They are marked by a clear understanding of the objectives of the struggle and a realisation of the directions from which the military threat emanates.

On the other hand, there are social strata, primarily feudal and bourgeois in those countries, which are closely linked with the West and are susceptible to various ideas about the "equal responsibility" of the great powers for the exacerbation of

the international situation and to the theories of rivalry between the great powers, as well as the concepts of "equidistance". They are marked by an inability or unwillingness to distinguish between the policy of strengthening peace and security of nations, pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the policy of imperialism, aimed at thwarting detente. It is obvious that the imperialist efforts to wage "psychological warfare" find some grounds there. The military and, particularly, the nuclear danger is so great, however, and the anti-war sentiment of the public is so strong that, despite imperialism's wishes, neglect of the problems of war and peace could not become a determining trend in the public life of those countries, though it sometimes creates difficulties for the unfolding of the anti-war movement in Asia and Africa and its unification with the joint struggle of peoples for peace.

In spite of all the difficulties, the anti-war movement is not only becoming important to the progressive social forces in the developing countries; it also recruits (though with certain losses for its own interests) the strata of society that are closer to capitalism than to socialism in their class essence. All this occurs under powerful pressure from the social grassroots and under the influence of the dominant sentiments among the public. This is precisely the case of which Marx wrote, citing a Latin proverb: "Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt" (The Fates lead the well disposed; they drag the rebellious).

While they bring their misconceptions, illusions and sometimes even peculiar character to the powerful stream of the movement for peace, bourgeois and pro-bourgeois strata and even feudal and tribal circles, can and often do, nonetheless, play a certain positive role, extending the mass nature of the movement, attaching unprecedented scope to it. In the course of these actions objective prerequisites are being created for broad, joint or parallel actions of the developing countries of Asia and Africa and the states of existing socialism in the struggle for peace to counter war and, particularly, the nuclear threat. The firm and principled line of the Soviet Union towards safeguarding peace and security of nations, which has been reaffirmed in a number of recent speeches by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has evoked a broad positive response in Asian and African countries.

Indicative in this sense is the stand taken in the UN by the majority of the newly-free countries on the issues of peace and war. Proceeding from their

national interests and taking global problems into account, they are invariably at one with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries when voting on problems linked with ensuring peace, improving the international situation and curbing the arms race. Indira Gandhi has stressed that it is not that the developing countries are siding with the Soviet Union, but that the Soviet Union is together with the Asian and African countries, supporting the movement for independence and the struggle against colonialism.

The drawing together of the positions taken by the socialist and developing countries on the cardinal issue of war and peace is promoted by a profound understanding by them of the unbreakable link between the tasks of the liberation struggle, of upholding vital interests of the developing states and safeguarding peace and security of nations.

The developing countries of Asia and Africa responded positively to the proposal by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation member-states (March 1984) not to increase military expenditures and, as a result, to use the means thus saved for economic and social development, including assistance to the newly-free countries. At the same time, it is evident—as it was stressed more than once in joint statements by CMEA countries—that the increase in the rate of the arms race will limit and curtail the possibilities for rendering efficient aid to the developing countries, where a third of humanity lives, and that, in their socio-economic development, they will encounter much greater obstacles than today.

Konstantin Chernenko stated: "The solidarity with the peoples that have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and embarked on the road of independent development has been and will be one of the fundamentals of the foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state; particularly, of course, it will concern the peoples that have to repulse attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism, which creates the most dangerous hotbeds of bloody coercion and fires of war in different world regions. The urgent and important direction in the struggle for lasting peace on Earth is to back the right cause of the peoples, to come out for eliminating such hotbeds."

A broad response on the three continents was triggered by Soviet peaceful initiatives (together with those of other socialist countries), such as non-extension of the sphere of action of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the creation of nuclear free peace zones in different regions of the world; the limitation

of naval armaments and the spread of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans; elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories; peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East, Southern Africa, Southeast and Southwest Asia.

The cohesion of peace forces, forces of national and social emancipation, and their purposeful, joint actions are making an invaluable contribution to the struggle for peace and security of nations, and for the discontinuation of the arms race, serving as an ever more effective factor in that struggle. All this demonstrates that the Afro-Asian world, primarily its patriotic and progressive forces, have made their choice in favour of peace and security of nations.

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INTERNATIONAL

AFRICA INSTITUTE HEAD GROMYKO NOTES CONTINENT'S DEVELOPMENT

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the Institute of African Studies, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against Nuclear Threat: "Africa in the 1980's. Time for Decisions and Actions"]

[Text]

As time passes by the importance of certain landmarks in African history to the destinies of the continent is becoming ever more evident. One of such events took place on May 25, 1963, when the first conference of heads of state or government of thirty African countries independent by that time, was opened in Addis Ababa, now capital of Socialist Ethiopia. The conference signed the African Unity Charter, which laid the foundations for the Organisation of African Unity now incorporating fifty African countries which have freed themselves from colonial slavery and have the population of more than 475 million. More than twenty years ago the participants in the conference planted seedlings of conifers in front of the House of Africa. Now a green grove has grown on the square which, symbolically enough, is named after Lenin. When I come to Addis Ababa and visit the place I always think, looking at these trees stretching out towards the sun, that they have withstood all the vagaries of Nature. Old Africa, which is at the same time so young, is swept by many a wind, including violent cyclones, quiet trade winds, sultry khamsin, mild monsoon, stormy tornadoes and hurricanes. There is one wind, however, which is not to be found in any geographical manual but which is felt everywhere. It is the invigorating wind of freedom, the wind of the future.

Those trees on Lenin Square witnessed the dramatic historical changes on the African continent in the two decades.

I am also thinking about what lies

in store for them—trees grow long after all—and with all my heart keenly feel that now that the threat of a nuclear catastrophe is hanging over mankind no nation nor individual has its "own", "exceptional" fate. It is inseparable from the destinies of the world and life on earth, which the advocates of infernal bombs—the militarists—threaten to destroy.

I am also reflecting on unique African culture and art and the Africans' laboured progress to a life worthy of man. For centuries the colonialists sought to turn Africa into a sort of enormous reservation in which black slaves were to produce fabulous wealth for their white masters, to isolate the continent from the rest of the world and to deprive its peoples of knowledge and political awareness. As a result of historical development many Africans, primarily preoccupied with the search for their daily bread and exhausting struggle for survival, remain unaware of the fact that their lives, too, directly depend on "big politics" and the global problems facing mankind today, especially the main problem, that of preserving peace.

The military strategic doctrine of the present American administration is based on the monstrous idea of the admissibility of not only a "limited" but also "total" nuclear conflict. Washington has declared many regions of the globe, including Africa which is thousands of miles away from the US, a sphere of its "vital interests". The grim reality is the fact that imperialism is still capable of plunging mankind into the abyss of nuclear missile war. The arms race unleashed by

it has created the necessary material prerequisites. "About one million rubles is spent every minute on armaments in the world. The nuclear arsenals have accumulated more than 50,000 nuclear warheads within a forty-year period. Figuratively speaking, every one of us is sitting on a barrel containing 3.5 tons of explosive. This is approximately the power sufficient to send every inhabitant of the earth to space. The fuze is already in and it will take it from 20 to 30 minutes to burn. Effective efforts are being made to cut this time to five minutes or so", said Academician Ye. Velikhov, a leading Soviet researcher, in his speech at the national conference of scientists for saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear war, for disarmament and peace, held in Moscow last year. This is how little time is required to solve the fatal question "to be or not to be" for the whole of humankind. In the past few years authoritative scientists, journalists and public figures all over the world, including the US, have been writing a lot about the consequences of a possible thermonuclear catastrophe. These horrendous, though quite "real", pictures of the end of life, man and civilisation overshadow the gruesome phantasmagoria of the Apocalypse. One such book published in the US is entitled *Nuclear War. What's in It for You?*¹

Two chapters—"The Good News is You Will Be Killed Instantly" and "The Bad News Is You Might Survive"—give the answer to this question. How can this "news" affect the destiny of Africa?

I have visited Africa more than once and, like anyone who has been there, retain the unforgettable impressions of its beautiful nature. Today's African savanna and tropical forests help us visualise what our planet looked like millions of years ago. Nowhere else in the world, besides Africa, have large wild animals been preserved in such big quantities. African fauna is a unique relic of nature of our distant past.

And still the biggest treasure of Africa is the wise, strong and kind people inhabiting this continent, with their wonderful traditions and customs and original culture. The involuntary thought is: could they, too, be a potential victim of nuclear madness?

I love Africa, and have spent years studying it and do not want to frighten Africans with ominous forecasts. But it seems to me that few

Africans so far know about the latest research into the effects a world nuclear war can bring to all nations, including African nations.

The data obtained by Soviet and American scientists show that a "big" nuclear war (and it can be nothing else for all Washington's arguments) would have truly tragic climatic consequences. The threat of a calamitous change in the climate throughout the globe, including in the equator zone, is a scientifically proven fact.

The geophysical consequences of nuclear war can be even more dangerous than the direct effect of nuclear weapons. Our environment, wherever we may live, will undergo a drastic change. The severe pollution of the atmosphere with the dust to be raised by nuclear strikes and with the soot to come from burning cities, towns, settlements, industrial enterprises, forests and fuel reserves will lead to a sharp fall in the temperature on the earth so that it will be from 30°-40°C lower than its average level.

As the UN, and on average 50°C lower than that in Europe. Such a sharp fall in temperature will start precipitation in areas at the middle latitudes—on an early heat wave (in a matter of weeks) spread to the tropical zone and south of it.

The atmosphere of the earth has two main centres of air circulation located in the Northern and the Southern hemispheres. Estimates show that if the atmosphere in the Northern hemisphere is badly polluted (which is to take place in case of a nuclear war) there will be a great difference in temperatures in the two hemispheres. The movement of the air will change dramatically as a result, with a big and steady flow going from the Northern hemisphere to the Southern hemisphere and quickly contaminating the latter, too, with soot and dust. This will entail a rapid drop in temperature in the countries where they do not know the meaning of cold. These were the conclusions drawn by both Soviet and American experts. A cold spell south of Europe and the US will set in merely a week or two later and will quickly intensify, resulting in a long and very cold "winter" which tens of millions of people, if not more, would not be able to live through.

But the cited facts are not enough to picture all the horrible consequences of a nuclear war for the inhabitants of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Scientists believe that precipitation over vast areas remote from seas and oceans will dwindle to almost zero. As a result crops will be destroyed and

¹ *Nuclear War. What's in It for You?* New York, 1982

domestic animals simply die of thirst and hunger, even if they manage to survive cold and radiation.

The thermal power of the seas and oceans will apparently prevent them from freezing but the coastal waters will no longer be a rich source of food for man because of strong storms, the unusual cooling of water and also the exposure of fish and sea animals to radiation.

I can also add that, according to latest scientific data, the level of the radioactive contamination of the earth will be much higher than expected previously. There will be a simultaneous rise in the intensity of the ultraviolet rays, which come to the earth from the sun and which are pernicious for all the living organisms. All this will be caused by the destruction of the ozonosphere. Tropical forests are also to meet with a tragic fate: they will not survive the ruinous fluctuations of temperature and sharp fall in lighting (almost to darkness). This will bring about the demise of fauna in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In other words, the higher forms of life on the globe, including man, will face not merely a catastrophic situation but death.

These forecasts are serious expert conclusions rather than the product of the author's imagination and mere speculation. Science gives a warning that in the Southern hemisphere, too, people will have to face severe frost, lack of water and food and baneful radiation that they are not going to survive. This is but one—ecological—aspect of a nuclear catastrophe.

It is not by chance that I started my analysis of Africa's present-day problems and roads to the future with the problem of ensuring stable peace, which is of vital importance to the continent. The 1980s have shown abundantly clearly that nuclear war has become a direct threat to the life of the African nations. The American military-political strategists now openly state that they will not hesitate to use nuclear weapons to resolve in their favour one crisis situation or another in the zone of newly-free countries. Let me remind our readers that, unlike the Soviet Union, the US and its NATO allies are so far unwilling to commit themselves to not being the first to use nuclear weapons.

It is an open secret that the Reagan Administration has sharply stepped up American expansion in Africa, is in every way whipping up the arms race on the continent, along with other NATO powers, and striving hard to

strengthen its military presence there. American imperialism is trying to turn Africa, as American politicians like to declare, into a "zone of confrontation with socialism", which in fact means into a scene of struggle against independent and hence undesirable African regimes and the African national liberation movements. The imperialists are not interested to see Africa free, independent and flourishing.

Every unbiased observer should have a clear idea that Africa, with a host of its own most complicated problems, can develop successfully only in the conditions of a lasting peace and of struggle against the threat of an imperialist aggression. Africa finds it difficult to extricate itself from its plight not only due to its domestic economic and social conditions and the burden of the past but also due to the artificial militarist barriers raised for political reasons. The continent's share in the world military spending is so far comparatively small but defence appropriations account for an extremely high per cent of African state budgets. Isn't it paradoxical that, given its economic plight, Africa's military spending should be growing!?

It is estimated that in the twenty years of independent development (1961-1980) African military spending grew from \$569 million to \$12,649 million a year (in constant prices), which is a more than 20-fold increase (its share in the world military spending accordingly grew from 0.5 per cent to 2.8 per cent). In the past few years, these figures have been outstripping those of the gross domestic product of the African region by 50 per cent, undermining the material foundations of its economy and, besides, further strengthening the military-technological dependence of many countries on the imperialist powers.

The arms race in Africa is being whipped up by the situation in the south of the continent, where colonialism and racism are trying to thwart in their remaining citadels the completion of the national liberation struggle by African peoples for their political independence.

Western imperialists have helped South Africa to create a military-industrial complex and the country's militarisation is being speedily accelerated. The military potential of Pretoria is at present higher than that of all the front-line states taken together. This is precisely what accounts for the brazenness with which the racists,

with the US directly aiding and abetting them, have repeatedly mounted large-scale aggressions against Namibia and Angola and subversive activities against Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana. Armed incursions, for instance, into Angola have caused damage to the tune of \$10,000 million. The African countries' economic situation, hard as it is, is even further exacerbated as a result.

For obvious reasons African countries are apprehensive of the military nuclear potential of racist South Africa. It has its own atomic industry and major reserves of uranium on its territory and in Namibia it occupies, and it is no party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (it has on several occasions publicly refused to join it).

South Africa has accepted no IAEA guarantees with respect to the whole of its nuclear programme and refused to cooperate in creating a nuclear-free zone in Africa.

Pronouncements by South African officials about their concern for the utilisation of nuclear power "exclusively in peaceful purposes" are of deliberately dubious nature. On the one hand, they speak about peaceful uses of nuclear power and, on the other, claim that if South Africa is attacked, (here I quote a South African minister) "no rules are applicable. We shall use any means... True, we have recently completed the building of an experimental plant of our own, equipped with rather advanced technology, and we have big uranium reserves".²

It is common knowledge, however, that nobody wants to attack South Africa: on the contrary, the two or three dozen constantly committing aggression against young African states. This permanent threat posed by the South African nuclear potential has become one of the main reasons why young African states have raised the problem of turning the whole of Africa and the adjacent islands, including Madagascar, into a nuclear-free zone. Beginning with 1961, the UN General Assembly has regularly been passing resolutions urging the establishment of such a zone and calling on the Western powers to stop their cooperation with South Africa in the nuclear field. As early as 1964, the OAU adopted a Declaration on Establishing a Nuclear-Free Zone in Africa, approved by the UN General Assembly in 1965 and then repeatedly reiterated.

² South Africa accounts for 16 per cent of uranium production in the capitalist world. See *South Africa's Plans and Potential in the Nuclear Field*. Report by Secretary-General, UN Document A/35/402, 1981, p. 37.

In the autumn of 1982, the 37th UN General Assembly session again endorsed the resolution (37/74a) on the establishment of a nuclear free zone in Africa. 134 countries (including the USSR) voted for the resolution and 13 (the US, some other NATO countries and Israel) abstained. Apart from calling on all the states to view Africa as a nuclear free zone, the resolution voiced grave concern over the cooperation in the nuclear field of some Western countries and Israel, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, and demanded that South Africa should enable the IAEA to inspect all of its nuclear installations. Simultaneously Resolution 37/74b was passed denouncing the racist regime for building up its nuclear potential and also Western states, co-operating with the racist in this field (the US, Britain, France and Israel voted against that resolution).

American military expansion in the Indian Ocean is becoming ever more reckless and dangerous, which has a direct bearing on the vital interests of the African countries.

A novel aspect of the policy pursued by the Western powers in Africa is certain coordination of their activities. Without renouncing their "national interests", capitalist states are ever more frequently resorting to concerted actions, especially when Africans persist in trying to defend their legitimate rights not just elsewhere but at home, in Africa.

The forces of imperialism are primarily united today by their desire to hold African countries within the capitalist economic system and to preclude their taking to the road of truly independent progressive development. Imperialist strategy has no future, however. The growing revolutionary process on the continent, preference for socialist orientation by ever new countries, victories scored by the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies, the mounting liberation movement in the south of the continent and the young state's growing struggle for greater equality in the international division of labour all weaken the positions of imperialism in the region. It can be said that the "Golden Age" of its rule in Africa has forever receded into the past and that world capitalism is going through a profound and irreversible crisis there.

Africa is now regarded as a key target of American expansionism in the global military-political strategy of the US. But the imperialists are no

³ For more detail on the problem of the Indian Ocean see articles by Yu. Lugovskoy and Yu. Nikolaev in the present issue.

longer capable of reversing the tide of history. The obvious fact is that the destiny of the African continent would be determined by the internal factors of its development and the policy to be pursued by the Africans themselves. Nobody has the right to impose one's diktat by force upon sovereign newly-free states.

As never before, the solution of complicated problems of political, social, economic, scientific and cultural development of Africa in the 1980s depends on the continent's stepped-up mass struggle against the arms race and for peace, detente and stronger peaceful cooperation between states. Africa is not alone in this great effort but is backed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. All the advanced democratic forces on the globe perfectly understand the needs, anxieties and aspirations of the African continent. This is something well-known in Africa.

The Soviet Union is quite explicit in that it wants to see Africa truly independent, flourishing, and solving successfully its problems. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ATTEMPTS TO CREATE ASIAN MILITARY BLOC CRITICIZED

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[Article by Yuriy Lugovskoy: "Asia: Dangerous Schemes of the Atlanticists"]

[Text]

Asia is becoming increasingly important in the global strategy and hegemonic designs of Washington which, in its far-reaching schemes, is seeking to gain unilateral advantages in the global confrontation with the world of socialism, and also to obtain fresh opportunities for punitive operations against the forces of national emancipation in Asia. In its calculations as regards Asia, the Reagan Tokyo declaration (and this is being stated openly in the White House) goes much farther than Nixon's Guam Doctrine or Ford's Hawaiian Declaration.

Putting Asia and Europe on an equal footing means only one thing: the readiness of the USA to recruit Asia for a new round in the strategic arms race, in particular to station there a nuclear missile potential of the first strike like in Western Europe. Here the authors of different variants of a "limited nuclear war" proceed from their desire not only to bring the missiles closer to their targets but also to avert a retaliatory strike against the USA, thereby making Asia a hostage of the Pentagon's aggressive schemes. Such are the calculations that are, in equal measure, adventurous, cynical and criminal.

This means in its turn that, politically and diplomatically, Washington will be even more persistent in persuading some Asian countries to succumb to the political and strategic plans of the White House, to enlist them, on a bilateral or collective basis, in a partnership with the Pentagon. In view of the fact that the majority of Asian states adhere to a nonaligned policy, however, Washington is experiencing considerable difficulty in drawing them into its military prepara-

tions. Moreover, the general upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia and its radicalisation create quite a few obstacles for the USA, prompting the White House to find new policy forms and methods.

In this connection, attention should be focused on the fact that Washington's statements contain new references to and pretexts for justifying the use of force. Suffice it to mention the proclamation of vast areas of the Asian continent bordering on the Persian Gulf a sphere of "American vital interests". Such claims reflect a hostile attitude towards any positive changes in Asia that might run counter to the plan for developments compiled in Washington. The USA is staking on setting up hotbeds of tension by counterposing neighbouring countries against one another, through conspiracies and other methods of interference in the affairs of sovereign states, with an eye to destabilising the internal political situation and creating "alternative governments", i.e., the implanting of dictatorial regimes, the very existence of which depends on US bayonets.

All this makes it clear why Reagan is flirting with the South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan and on friendly terms with Nakasone who is called the "naval premier" in Japan itself. Similar factors explain why Washington protects the generals' regime in Islamabad, which suppresses the democratic movement of Pakistan, and why Israel serves as the US strategic ally in the Middle East in its struggle against the Arab states.

Under the current US administration, international terrorism against Asian countries has been intensified and essentially elevated to the level

of US state policy, which is covered up by verbiage about "public diplomacy". Under Reagan, interference in the internal affairs of other countries is becoming the prerogative not only of the CIA, but also the US army. R. Dagger, a US publicist, noted in his book *Of Reagan—Man and President* that the use of armed forces abroad has become not only a means, but also an aim of US foreign policy. This is also confirmed by the fact that it is under Reagan that the special military operation command was set up and the rapid deployment force doubled in strength.

It is highly indicative that two Asian regions—the Far East and the Persian Gulf—have been declared US strategic zones, equated to Western Europe in importance, and structurally interconnected with NATO. This means in practice, that the Pentagon hopes, using its positions in Asia, to aim its first strike missiles at the Asian part of the Soviet Union and many states located in the zone of the national liberation movement.

A reasonable question arises: on what grounds are vast Asian areas located many thousands of miles from the US itself, becoming an object of Washington's military and political patronage? The United States has no such rights but, nevertheless, following the perfidious logic of the Reagan administration, the oil and other mineral resources of Asian countries are regarded as raw materials of US Big Business, its actual property, while the territories of those countries are viewed as springboards for the Pentagon's militaristic aspirations.

All this makes even more acute the conflict between the US and the developing countries of Asia that adhere to nonalignment, and this found a specific manifestation in the attacks to which US State Department subjected the decisions of the Seventh Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983. Deep-going contradictions between the USA and the nonaligned countries make themselves felt primarily on the issue of war and peace. Washington was particularly displeased by the resolutions approved in New Delhi, condemning the new round of the arms race started by the US and, in particular, the schemes for militarising the Indian Ocean*, as well as the resolutions calling for a new and just economic order in relations between the developing countries and the West.

* For details, see the article by Yu. Nikolayev in this issue.

It is high time the US finally listened to the states comprising the majority in the UN. All Washington's actions provide ample evidence, however, that it continues to ignore them haughtily and trample other countries' rights.

After Grenada and Lebanon, the new crusaders may crucify the freedom of any other participant in the nonaligned movement, if its behaviour is not, for some reason, to Washington's liking.

The following episode is indicative. Immediately after the US invasion of Grenada, James Mancham, the ring-leader of the former pro-Western regime in the Seychelles, who was overthrown by the people in 1977, wrote a letter to Reagan, a lamp to "help restore democracy" in that country. Agha Ibrahim, the separatist coming out for tearing away the Punjab, Assam and some other states from India, and the Pol Pot men find support in Washington. "The world is looking at the United States, and the United States is looking at the Marines" these words by the US President give rise to both well-grounded apprehensions and to a new upswing of anti-imperialist sentiments in Asia.

Since the fiasco of its aggressive adventure in Indochina, Washington is finding it increasingly difficult to draw Asian states into its military preparations. This is reaffirmed not only by the collapse of the SEATO and CENTO pro-imperialist blocs. The majority of Asian countries adhering to nonaligned positions reject the attempts to establish relations of partnership with the Pentagon and grant the latter part of their sovereign rights in the defence sphere. The protests against the US military presence are becoming broader and stronger in the states where the Pentagon has its bases. The situation in the Philippines is a case in point: the anti-war actions in that country have brought an upsurge of anti-Americanism in such dramatic forms that Reagan was forced to cancel his visit to Manila. His visits to Indonesia and Thailand were also cancelled.

All this impels the USA to seek a new approach to the implementation of its goals in Asia. A stake is made on looking for strong-points for the Pentagon in countries whose ruling quarters, owing to their class instincts, are ready for rapprochement with the USA. Japan is assigned the role of leading partner in carrying out Washington's new Asian strategy. Account is taken not only of its industrial potential and strategic positions, but also of the interest shown by Tokyo ruling circles in expanding

in the countries of the Southern seas washing Asia.

Moreover, Japanese monopolies also have impressive capital investments in Southeast Asia, as do their US counterparts—about \$ 10 billion. US and Japanese Big Business now control 70 per cent of the shares in the private sector of Singapore, 60 per cent in Malaysia, and 50 per cent in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. Japanese ruling quarters are becoming increasingly eager to retain security for these investments and profits by ensuring a Japanese military presence. The US is working, and not without success, to increase Japan's allocations on the arms race and build up its "self-defence forces". As can be seen from the *White Paper on Defence* published in Tokyo, in the current five-year period ending in 1984 Japan has earmarked over \$ 60 billion for military purposes.

With the help of Japan, the USA has been creating a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military triangle as a branch of NATO in the East of Asia. Japan has assumed the role of patron of the Seoul dictatorial regime, having granted it aid to the tune of \$1 billion.

The "Natoisation" of Japan and, through the latter, of South Korea finds its expression in different forms. Aircraft carriers, missile-carrying submarines and other warships of the US Pacific Fleet have long since been visiting Japanese and South Korean ports. Two wings of F-16 fighter-bombers which can deliver nuclear weapons, have been stationed in South Korea. Two other wings of the same aircraft are to be deployed at the Misawa base in the northern part of Honshu island. In the near future, the Pentagon plans to deploy ground-based cruise missiles in Japan and in the South of Korea.

Yet Washington is ready to go even farther. With the help of Japan and South Korea, it is seeking to set up an Asian-Pacific community, i.e., a military-political alliance with the North Atlantic bloc as the prototype. Washington and Tokyo would like to draw the members of ASEAN—Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore into it. In accordance with the Hong Kong-based magazine *Far Eastern Economic Review*, over the past five years the amount of military supplies from the United States to ASEAN countries has increased by 150 per cent to top \$ 3 billion. By 1985, the USA is planning to double arms deliveries to members of that organisation. Wa-

shington is no longer satisfied, however, with this state of affairs. The advisers of the Rand Corporation, the "brains-trust" of the Pentagon, propose to set up a "weapons pool" to coordinate the US and ASEAN countries' military cooperation, standardise armaments, and so on.

Washington is, however, encountering certain difficulties in converting ASEAN into a military bloc. Back in 1971, the ASEAN "Five" unequivocally favoured neutralisation of Southeast Asia and reaffirmed that the tasks of the Association are confined to the sphere of economic cooperation. Out of the six ASEAN members, the Pentagon succeeded in creating bases only in the Philippines. Today, the USA is striving to build its relations with the other ASEAN members following the example of the US-Philippine military partnership. Among other things, it has already secured the restoration of some bases in Thailand, which the Pentagon used intensely during the aggression against the countries of Indochina. Washington still hopes to drive a wedge between the ASEAN states and Indochinese countries, in order to involve them in its milita-

ry plans for Asia on the pretext of "protecting" the ASEAN member. Primarily, the USA would like an opportunity to use the ports of Thailand, Indon. and Malaysia for the warships of the US Seventh Fleet. Besides, the Pentagon hopes to control the armies of the ASEAN members which number, in all, over 800,000 officers and men. Washington holds that the setting up of the Far Eastern "triangle" will enable the USA to intensify its pressure on the ASEAN countries.

The redistribution of roles within the system of the US-Japanese military alliance also provides the Pentagon with a chance for extensive manoeuvring with its strategic forces in Asia, and is used for the US military build-up on the approaches to South Asia. The idea is self-evident, to entrust Japan with guarding communications in the Pacific and Southern straits, to share the role of world policeman with the United States in that region, and dispatch units of the US Seventh Fleet from the Pacific Ocean to reinforce the Fifth Fleet, which is being set up by the USA in the Indian Ocean on a permanent basis.

Besides, the bases in Okinawa and on other islands of the Japanese archipelago are used for dispatching a rapid deployment force to other Asian areas. The USA has set up about

30 military bases in the Indian Ocean, with more than 140,000 US servicemen there. Thus, the Asian continent along the entire perimeter from Japan to the Persian Gulf has been encircled by a chain of Pentagon bases that are also used for stationing US nuclear missiles.

Southwest Asia has become one more region to which Washington is applying its "new Asian strategy". Its orientation on that region reveals many similar features with the Pentagon's preparations in East Asia. For example, it seems that Washington has been deliberately imposing the model of US-Japanese partnership on Pakistan as well.

In exchange for deliveries of US weaponry, Washington is demanding that Pakistan put air bases and ports at the disposal of the Pentagon. According to the Indian journal *New Wave*, a secret agreement has been concluded on that score. It envisages the building of a US naval base at the port of Gwadar, and also air bases in Baluchistan, near Karachi and in other parts of Pakistan. Bases for F-16s are under construction in Quetta, Sibi, Turbat, Panjgur, Fort-Sandeman and elsewhere. According to press reports, these bases can be used for dispatching a rapid deployment force. Moreover, the US military bases at Ormara and Hivni are being built on the Arabian Sea coast. A small island of Mexdie-Koh, near the port of Gwadar, has been turned into a US base for electronic warfare. The document on the United States-Pakistan cooperation noted that the US will supply Pakistan with military hardware, and "ships on board can reach the oil fields on the Persian Gulf much faster than from Diego Garcia Island".

The course of the development of such "partnership" has already turned Pakistan into a springboard for the "undeclared war" waged against Afghanistan by the US security services. Washington also regards Pakistan as a "contribution" to India whose peace-loving policy causes open irritation in the USA. Moreover, within the system of so-called "strategic consensus", Pakistan has already been entrusted with protecting the Sultan of Oman, Saudi Arabia and some other regimes that the USA considers to be potential participants in the future military structure in Southwest Asia.

The mounting US threat in Asia faces all peace-loving countries of the continent with the urgent task of joining their efforts to ensure peace and security. The course towards this

goal has been stated in the proposals set forth by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The USSR has repeatedly approved the initiative of the coastal states aimed at turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It favours the spread of confidence-building measures to a substantial part of the sea, and ocean, and also the implementation of such measures in the Far East.

The Soviet Union also suggests that the leading bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty make a statement on the nonspread of the spheres of action of these alliances to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any country may contribute to ensuring security in Asia. This approach opens up broad vistas for interaction between the Soviet Union and many Asian states.

An efficient means for eliminating "hotbeds" in Asia has also been mentioned in a number of positive initiatives advanced at late dialogues and peace negotiations. This is the essence of the proposals made by the Indochinese countries addressed to ASEAN states. The proposals made by Afghanistan to Pakistan provide a real opportunity for normalising the situation in Southwest Asia. The proposal made by the Mongolian People's Republic concerning the elaboration and signing of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific states, has evoked broad response. The implementation of all the constructive initiatives would deprive the USA of the opportunity to take advantage of the contradictions in Asia, and would promote consolidation of the unity of peace-loving forces.

The peace-loving forces in Asia have a direct interest in the success of the struggle against the US missiles in Western Europe, particularly in view of the fact that the Pershing-2s and cruise missiles deployed in Europe also pose a direct threat to Asians. Quite recently, the Indian papers *Times of India* and *Indian Express* carried a report that the US missiles stationed in Western Europe were spearheaded not only against the USSR, but also against the 19 countries that fall within the zone of action of CENICOM. This is further graphic evidence that the USA is deploying nuclear missiles near the borders of the USSR and its allies not in order to defend Western Europe. This is a first strike weapon, a weapon of aggression threatening everybody.

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. HIT FOR OPPOSING INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 19-20

[Article by Yuriy Nikolayev: "The Indian Ocean: Who Foils the Talks?"]

[Text]

To make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is a burning issue of our day and age. Today, when the international situation has sharply deteriorated through the fault of the aggressive forces of imperialism, the countries of the region are particularly concerned about whether the Indian Ocean will be a zone of cooperation and goodneighbourly relations, or that of constant nuclear threat, confrontation and, eventually, a theatre of hostilities.

At the turn of the 1970s several young independent states came out with initiatives for the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the world. One of these was the proposal of Sri Lanka to create a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, which was presented at the 1970 Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned States. In 1971, the proposal was put on the agenda of the 26th UN General Assembly session. What followed from its discussion was the Declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace approved by many delegations. The General Assembly appealed to the great powers for an early start of consultations in order to halt a further escalation of a foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, and to dismantle all military bases, installations and facilities there. The Declaration suggested that the Indian Ocean be proclaimed a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

In 1972, a UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean was formed on the basis of the decision taken by the UN General Assembly; the Committee was instructed to prepare an international conference that would implement the declaration.

The 1979 conference of littoral and mainland states of the Indian Ocean area, which outlined the basic principles for the future zone of peace, was an important step forward in implementing the Sri Lanka proposal.

The conferees demanded that all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean area be dismantled, and that the Ocean be free from nuclear weapons and the weapons of mass destruction, and called on the nuclear powers to pledge the non-use of nuclear weapons against the littoral and mainland states, and the non-deployment of military forces and armaments that would threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of that region's countries.

Two policy lines stand out in the complex of issues surrounding the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, the first one, invariably pursued by the Soviet Union, being aimed at eliminating the war danger, easing tensions,

safeguarding detente and settling conflicts by peaceful means, through negotiations. Elaborating on this line are the Soviet Union's numerous proposals seeking to achieve universal peace on earth.

The Soviet stand over the Indian Ocean issue was clearly set forth at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. Its memorandum emphasised that the Soviet Union supported the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, put forward by the non-aligned states, and that the Soviet Union actively participated in preparing an international conference on this issue.

This support has been clearly reiterated in the latest statements by the Soviet government and in speeches by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The United States and some of its allies adhere to a diametrically opposite line. It is a "zone of US vital interests", rather than a peace zone, that the US administration would like to see in the region, it is striving for a military-political domination over the Indian Ocean with its vast natural resources, rather than for goodneighbourly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Despite the overt moves by the United States and some of its allies to block the turning of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the non-allied states, supported by the socialist countries, managed to invigorate the activities of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and have a programme adopted on preparations for an international conference to implement the Declaration.

According to the December 1979 resolution of the UN General Assembly, the conference was to take place in 1981 in Colombo. This decision could by no means satisfy the United States, for it ran counter to its five-year plan of the region's "strategic recolonisation". Speaking in an arrogant and categorical manner, characteristic of the present-day US leadership, the US representative announced in the Committee that the peace zone concept, formulated by the UN 1971 Declaration and specified by subsequent resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Final Document of the 1979 meeting of littoral and mainland states of the Indian Ocean was "obsolete" and had to be radically revised. According to the US diplomat who was, naturally, voicing the opinion of his country's leadership, the new concept had to proceed from the fact that security in the Indian Ocean was undermined by the presence of Soviet military forces in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Western Siberia, which allegedly posed threat to the littoral states, rather than by the huge US military, naval and air forces concentrated there, or by the network of US military bases. He actually presented an ultimatum to the effect that the Committee should not commit itself to preparing the conference until the US concept of the "peace zone" be accepted.

This overt US arbitrariness evoked indignation among the delegations of the non-aligned states, many of which—India, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Madagascar, Tanzania, Iran and others—censured the line of the US administration. These stressed that it was inadmissible either to put forward preconditions for an Indian Ocean conference, or to block its preparation. However, the US foiled the adoption of the decision to hold the conference in 1981, making use of the fact that decisions in the Committee are taken only on the basis of consensus.

In the course of the 37th UN General Assembly Session in 1982, despite US opposition, the overwhelming majority of the UN member-states, interested in the positive solution of the problem, succeeded in having the General Assembly confirm the need for such a conference to be held no later than the first half of 1984.

However, such a turn of events was not to the liking of the US administration. The US made another attempt to revise the Committee's mandate, with a view to blocking the convocation of the conference at the time set by the General Assembly, and to postponing it indefinitely, if not burying it altogether. The delegations of Western countries (excepting France) tabled a document entitled "A Complex of Principles Related to the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace" which was intended to replace the Committee's mandate.

The non-aligned countries were not misled by this show or by promises to take part in the forthcoming conference. They noted that political principles of the Western document were a set of general declarations extracted from various UN documents. The principles dealing with security did not, in fact, contain any concrete propositions promoting the creation of a peace zone, since they said nothing about the limitation of military activities of foreign states in the Indian Ocean area, or about the dismantling of foreign military bases there. (The US representative gave no coherent answer, neither could he give any to the questions by many delegates as to whether the US was ready to renounce its military bases in the region.)

The representatives of the non-aligned states noted that the existing concept of peace had not become obsolete and therefore there was no need to elaborate any "present-day" concepts. The main goal of the 1971 Declaration, a Madagascar delegate pointed out, was to obviate danger posed by the imperialist military bases, whereas the Western document omitted the issue of dismantling foreign military bases altogether. The Madagascar delegate stated unequivocally that the Western document was aimed at "bolstering foreign military presence, opening opportunities for setting up new bases, justifying the dangerous play at military alliances and the preparation for war in this region". He also noted that the "West's document gave it a free hand to deploy its military forces there". The representative of the PDRY stressed that "putting forward any preconditions for the conference is inadmissible, since the General Assembly has already approved the idea of its convocation". India's representative sharply criticised the Western document. Expressing the views of the non-aligned countries, he said that the Committee was witnessing a sad show, in which certain delegations had been making efforts to introduce into its work a number of irrelevant issues disguised as a "complex of principles". The delegates considered these efforts as an obvious attempt to have the committee's mandate changed.

The conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned states held in New Delhi in March 1983 emphasised that the participants in the movement were full of resolve to "achieve success for the Indian Ocean conference to be held in Sri Lanka in 1984". In addition, they called on the UN Special Committee to complete the preparations for the conference strictly in accordance with its mandate, i. e., within the time limits fixed by the General Assembly.

During the 38th (1983) Session of the UN General Assembly, the representatives of non-aligned states consistently adhered to the idea of convening the Indian Ocean conference in 1984. At their October 1983 meeting in UN headquarters the foreign ministers and heads of delegations of non-aligned states expressed their deep concern in connection with the expansion of military bases in the region, and the setting up of new bases and "new military command structures".

The ministers and heads of delegations reiterated their resolve to take all measures possible for the conference to be convened in 1984. However, using pressure, threats and even overt blackmail, the United States managed to thwart once

again the implementation of the UN decision to hold the Indian Ocean conference in 1984 (it will be recalled that the decision was supported by the US itself in 1982) and postpone it till 1985.

All sincere peace supporters hold that the present-day worrisome world situation makes it still more urgent to convene an Indian Ocean conference. In this connection, as the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty States stresses, the proposal for turning the Indian Ocean area into a zone of peace is particularly important.

Already today, without waiting for the conference to be convened, the Soviet Union calls on all states whose ships sail in the Indian Ocean to refrain from any steps capable of complicating the situation in the region. This means they should not send naval task forces there, carry out military exercises, or help the non-littoral states which possess military bases in the area modernise these.

In the future struggle for the setting up of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, a great deal will depend on the non-aligned states, primarily on the members of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, on their firm stand and perseverance, on their vigorous and consistent policy, and on their unity. In this struggle the non-aligned states can, as before, rely on the full support of the Soviet Union which considers the work for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean as a most important integral part of the common struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, against the imperialist policy of war and the arms race.

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INTERNATIONAL

FRENCH ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN ARAB EAST SCORED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 22-23

[Article by Aleksander Filonik and Vladimir Isayev, candidates of Economic Sciences: "France-Arab East: The Components of Economic Expansion"]

[Text]

The growing intensity of the social processes in the Arab East, brought about by important structural transformations in the Arab national economies, their involvement in international events, and the growing national liberation movements are forcing France and other imperialist states to alter their attitude to realities of the Arab world and to resort to more flexible tactics in relations with them. This is primarily because of France's shortage of energy resources and its desire to turn the Arab world into a vast market and profitable sphere of capital investment.

The penetrative capacity of French capital is relatively high, though the present state of the French economy makes its realisation seriously difficult, as it has suffered all the crises affecting the world capitalist economy for a number of years. Besides, the relatively few and weak French transnational corporations are often unable to stand up to the other Western monopolies on the Arab market.

France's strong positions in some industries, particularly the production of certain types of machinery and other equipment, consumer durables, industrial and military electronics, and munitions have allowed the country to maintain its prestige on the Arab market, French monopoly capital being promoted by the political shrewdness and pragmatism of the French leadership, which is inclined to settle the economic problems between the West and the Arab world by way of negotiations rather than confrontations.

Guided first and foremost by its own selfish interests, French capital concentrates on developing those Arab industries that meet its own requirements. It is not by chance that the oil and gas refineries built with the French assistance

form quite a list. Over the last few years alone, quite a number of companies, acting independently and jointly, have signed agreements on the construction of gas-liquefying plants in Algeria, and drawn up draft projects for the construction of a lubricants plant in Tunisia, an export-oriented oil-refining complex in Morocco, etc.

A considerable part of France's foreign-economic operations is connected with the transfer of technology and knowhow to developing countries. Engineering and consultation activities are regarded as a strategic direction allowing the French economy to meet competition effectively. Almost a third of the total range of that kind of services in the field of construction, industry and the infrastructure goes to the Middle East countries, Tunisia and Algeria.

Under the guise of disinterested assistance to the Arab countries in their economic development, the French monopolies are actually pursuing maximum profits. The export of capital objectively leads to the gradual inculcation of the capitalist principle into the Arab countries' economies and, in the long run, to the involvement of these countries in the capitalist economy.

State-controlled operations, "development aid", in particular, have gained in scope. According to some forecasts, official "aid" will continue to expand in the first half of the 1980s, when France will be still maintaining its leading positions in this field, as compared with other West European countries.

The volume of France's private investment in Arab countries exceeds capital exports along state channels, but it is lower than those of other imperialist countries, though it sometimes con-

stitutes a considerable amount. Thus, the share of French investment in Morocco is still second to none. Having taken advantage of the Sadat regime's "open doors" policy, France has outstripped its rivals, and is now the ARE's second largest partner, after the US.

One special subject is the participation of the French Sofratom and Framatom in the construction of the atomic energy power plants worth hundreds of millions of francs, in Iraq, Algeria, Morocco and Egypt. Another choice by French capital is motor assembly plants. Citroën, for example, has built such a plant in Casablanca, and is planning another one in Tangier. Peugeot has signed an agreement with Tunisia on the construction of a truck assembly plant and on the organisation of automobile parts production there. Renault is keeping pace with similar French firms and is planning to put an assembly and an automobile-equipment plants into operation, also in Tunisia.

French investors are interested in creating mixed companies, which they consider to be a powerful means for penetrating the Arab economic structures. By the early 1980s, the creation of 36 Franco-Egyptian companies had been approved in Egypt, and in Tunisia 196 of the 246 companies sponsored by the local Investment Promotion Agency, were mixed, mostly with French participation.

At the same time, Arab capital is flowing into France along different channels and for various reasons. By force of circumstances, including political ones, Saudi Arabia, for instance, prefers to invest its extra capital not in the USA, but in Western Europe, particularly France. This Arab state holds fifth place in direct credits to French industry. The share of Lebanese and Saudi investment in French real estate has increased lately by 5 and 10 per cent respectively. A tenth of OPEC's assets (nearly \$90 billion) is deposited in France.

Paris is a major banking centre for the Arab world. In 35 banks here, 84 per cent of capital belong to Arabs. The most important are the UBAF, BAli, FRAB and EAB, which were established to finance Middle East and North Africa development projects, and foster trade.

France's economic dependence on the state of foreign-trade contacts has increased markedly with the aggravation of the energy crisis in the capitalist world. It is only natural that France's trade relations with virtually all Arab countries are mainly oriented on the oil-producing countries of the region, and trade-turnover with them has grown almost 12-fold during the past decade,

compared with a 5-fold increase with other countries. Simultaneously, France's negative balance of trade with the oil-producing countries has increased almost 10-fold, while the trade balance with the rest of the Arab countries has remained in the black.

The arms trade is an important means by which the French monopolies become established on Arab markets and France's political influence is enhanced. Current legislation sets no limits whatever on arms supplies from France: French materiel is being delivered to any seat of tension, including the explosive Middle East. French *Mirage* fighters are used by Iraq, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Tunisia and Morocco. French-made armoured cars and *AMX* tanks are being shipped to the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf and Northern Africa. *HOT* and *Millan* anti-tank missiles produced by Euromissile, a Franco-West-Germany firm, are exported to quite a number of

the Maghrib and Mashrek countries. France is supplying Arab states with *Puma* and *Gazelle* gun helicopters, air-to-air and ship-to-ship missiles, torpedo boats, and other materiel. Most active in this respect are the Dassault-Breguet, Matra, Thomson-Brandt and some other firms, which profit most from conflicts, regardless of the tremendous harm done to people. (France provides considerable assistance to Israel, supplying, in particular, the latest *Mirage* fighter planes.)

France's economic penetration of the Arab East and North Africa is accompanied by considerable ideological expansion, especially strong in the Maghrib countries. This expansion is greatly promoted by the mass media. Numerous French associations, agencies, committees, offices, and legations, which, through their local representatives in the Arab countries, propagate imperialist views and spread their ideals and Western morals, which are alien to the Arabs,—all serve the same purpose, despite all the talk about friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding.

The export of ideological concepts and cultural stereotypes to the Franco-phone Arab countries is promoted not only by the propaganda machine. On returning home, the numerous Arab immigrants, who have grown accustomed to the French way of life, willy-nilly transmit their adopted notions to the Arab media. By encouraging Arab interest in Western life, they are working for the official bourgeois mass media.

Any major event in the Arab world provokes an immediate reaction on France's part to the new situation in this

region. This sensitivity is explained by many factors, particularly by the French bourgeoisies' desire to see itself at the head of affairs and, thus, if only in illusory manner, bring back the times when they were the true wielders of power in this region. No less strong is the desire to reinforce France's economic positions in the region through its political presence, lest they become outsiders in global events.

Undisguised pragmatism has been always inherent in the Arab policies pursued by France's ruling circles, which have always placed the interests of French imperialism above everything else. At various stages in its historical development, France has made skillful use of a whole range of devices in pursuit of its economic and foreign policies, as it took advantage of the existing situation and claimed to be free of preconceptions and independent in evaluating various problems of the Arab world.

In the torn apart with contradictions Western world, French monopoly capital has to display exceptional resourcefulness and shrewdness to avoid lagging behind US, Japanese and West German rivals, and to stand up for its "right" to exploit the Arab countries' natural and human resources. Since they do not count only on their own power, French ruling circles are seeking support for their neocolonialist aspirations inside Arab states by bringing direct pressure to bear and applying a whole range of notorious diplomatic, ideological and military methods.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S., NATO BLAMED FOR INCREASING MIDEAST TENSION, DANGER OF WAR

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 23-25

[Article by Tatyana Nosenko: "The Policy of Brinkmanship"]

[Text]

In the conditions of growing tensions in the Middle East the US has been overtly striving to use its NATO allies to attain its own aggressive goals in the region. With this purpose it enlisted France, Italy and Britain into the "multinational forces" in Lebanon, who proved to be a fiasco in their mission.

The participation of France in the "multinational forces" has led to inevitable open clashes between its units and the National Patriotic Forces (NPF) of Lebanon fighting to restore its sovereignty on a democratic basis. In connection with this, a more general problem of France's political role in the Middle East has come to the fore.

In 1962, when the Algerian war was over, France led by De Gaulle sought to pursue a policy of "cooperation" with Arab countries in order to restore economic and political ties with them, previously destroyed, and to maintain good relations with Israel at the same time. But the aggression unleashed by the Israeli Zionists in June 1967 against the Arab countries evoked censure by France which went so far as to impose an embargo on its arms supplies to Israel.

From 1967 onward, the official position of France concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict was based on Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council, which France had helped to elaborate. During the 1970s its leaders reiterated their stand for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, and their support of the Soviet proposal on convening a Middle East conference in Geneva, apparently intending, by taking part in it, to enhance the role of France in settling the problems of the region.

Soon it became clear, however, that Paris was double-dealing. On the one hand, striving to be as prestigious in the eyes of the Arabs as before, it had more than once expressed scepticism of the US policy of separate agreements, on the other, as an ally, it refrained from emphatically denouncing the Camp David deal.

Paris was compelled to clarify its attitude to the matters of principle for the Arab world, doing so under the pressure from many Arab states which blamed France for its inconsistency as regards the settlement. In 1980, France was the first among the West European states to recognise the Palestinians' right to self-determination. Many Arab countries considered this gesture as the first step leading to further,

more resolute initiatives on the part of France and Western Europe, counterbalancing the US policy which was frankly pro-Israeli. Things turned out differently, however.

In its Middle East policy France sharply switched toward supporting the US line of separate deals and developing cooperation with Israel, following the election to Presidency, in May 1981, of F. Mitterrand, candidate from the French Socialist Party. Significantly, President Mitterrand's trip to Jerusalem was one of his first important foreign policy moves, which could be understood as an attempt to alleviate the impression of allegedly close ties with the Arabs.

Unilaterally, ignoring the EEC practice of discussing the Middle East issues jointly, France stated that the Venetian Declaration (the so-called European initiative) which contained the principles of the Middle East settlement elaborated by the EEC members and which was adopted in 1980, was ineffective and useless from the point of view of France. (Some of the Arab countries, though, were inclined to consider the Declaration as a possible alternative to the US policy, obviously hostile to them.)

Mitterrand's statements in which he clearly assessed the Camp David accord as an "important contribution" to the settlement, testified to the shifts in the French statesmen's views of the Middle East conflict. In autumn 1981 the French government actively promoted US plans to involve the West European allies in the so-called "multinational peace-keeping forces" on the Sinai Peninsula, set up under the US aegis, in accordance with the Camp David agreement. To all appearances the new French leaders decided that the framework of the "European initiative", existing rather in word than in deed, would not allow them to play a big part in the Middle East affairs, while joining the Camp David deal would give them (as they saw it) a chance to reserve for themselves a part in the settlement scenario directed by the US. Besides, Paris, probably sought to limit to some extent the American monopoly on decision-making in disregard of the European countries' opinion.

These shifts coincided in time (and not without reason) with the change of leadership in France. The new head of state thought it necessary to demonstrate his "loyalty" to NATO and confirm his reliability as a US ally, which was called in question by the US ruling circles after the victory of the left-wing bloc won during the presidential elections in France. By its participation in the "multinational forces" on the Sinai and, later on, joining the US adventure in Lebanon, France showed its readiness to contribute to the joint actions by the imperialist states.

The French government's volte-face in the Middle East policy, its rejection of the "European initiative" which had irritated Washington were quite in conformity with the US plan of involving its NATO allies in the implementation of its imperial designs in the Middle East.

Though there was a tendency in 1981 to draw France into the US Middle East policy, one could not help noticing the difference between the goals pursued by the US and France in this region. The US global strategists look upon the Middle East as an arena for confrontation with the USSR; they use the Arab-Israeli conflict to expand direct American military presence in the region close to the Soviet borders. Their foreign-policy goals are as follows: to cement a "strategic cooperation" with Israel and to involve the Arab conservative regimes in the implementation of the US imperialist plans. The "settlement" of the conflict US-Israeli way is considered by Washington a mere precondition for setting up a broad anti-Soviet alliance in the region.

France needs the settlement of the conflict, first and foremost, to consolidate its economic positions.

Economic interests push it toward a rapprochement with the Arab states, all the more so as today's French govern-

ment, in its policy vis-à-vis the developing world, proceeds from the interconnection between the economies of the advanced capitalist and developing countries.

According to the French leadership, the unsettled Arab-Israeli conflict poses a threat of an excessive escalation of warfare in the Middle East, which may shatter some of the pro-Western regimes in the Arab countries. Paris understands that destabilisation in the region will destroy the entire network of trade-economic relations between France and the Middle East, which in turn will worsen the crisis in the French economy, grave as it is. Quite recently France has endured some of the negative consequences of the critical situation in the Middle East when the Arab countries imposed an oil embargo as a result of the October 1973 war.

In an attempt to enhance French influence throughout the developing world and the role of France in solving international issues, its leaders have set themselves the task of interfering directly in the Middle East affairs. Their so-called well-balanced line aims at preserving and cementing ties both with Israel and the Arab countries with conservative regimes, without renouncing attempts to improve relations with the forces fighting uncompromisingly against Israeli expansionism.

France keeps in touch with the Palestine Liberation Organisation too, though its attitude to it has always been inconsistent.

The French government has more than once declared that the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the setting up of their own state is the cornerstone of the Middle East settlement. This government makes a point of difference between its own stand as regards the problem, and the stand of the US administration.

Nevertheless, France has not recognised the PLO's status as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, though at the same time, favouring its participation in any talks on the Middle East.

The duplicity of France vis-à-vis the PLO has fully revealed itself during the Lebanon events in 1982-1983. On the one hand, F. Mitterrand repeatedly stressed that peace in Lebanon was possible only provided the Palestinian problem had been settled and censured the policy of genocide pursued by Israel towards Palestinians. On the other hand, he, as before, called on the PLO to recognise Israel unilaterally, without waiting for it to reciprocate. Such calls sounded improper, to put it mildly, at the time of a brazen aggression unleashed by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples with the aim of crushing the Palestine Resistance Movement. During their talks with the PLO leaders at that time the French representatives proposed compromises that would have brought to naught many victories won by the PRM.

Having chosen the slippery path of crafty diplomatic manoeuvring in the Middle East, the French leadership brought the Franco-Israeli relations to a higher level. Mitterrand's arrival in Jerusalem in March 1982 made him the first head of the French state to visit the country. Trying, as much as possible, to mitigate the negative response in the Arab states, the French President gave to understand he was carrying out some kind of an intermediary mission, as during that visit he also discussed the Middle East settlement. F. Mitterrand's trip inflicted great damage on the prestige of France (contrary to all the expectations of the French diplomats), as he put France in the position of a state supporting the aggressor and torpedoing the Arab countries' legitimate demand to isolate Israel diplomatically in the international arena.

Conservative Arab regimes are the focus of France's attention within the framework of its "well-balanced" Middle East

course. Saudi Arabia was the first country to receive President Mitterrand on his coming to office; he arrived there in September 1981 and his visit undoubtedly stressed his special interest in developing relations with the country aspiring to leadership in the Arab world and supplying France with most of the oil it uses. Western political observers pointed out that during the talks economic and financial problems were pushed to the background, while political ones loomed large, with the settlement of the Middle East conflict being the priority problem. Symptomatically enough, during that visit President Mitterrand spoke highly of the Fahd Plan, proposed by Saudi Arabia in August 1981 as the basis for the settlement, and hinted that France was ready to promote the Saudi leaders' peace initiatives.

France has also close relations with Egypt, which were established at the summit level when President Mitterrand and Minister for External Affairs of France Cheysson had many consultations with President Mubarak. In summer 1982, during the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, France and Egypt worked out, within the framework of the UN, a joint draft resolution on the normalisation of the situation in that country. The provision stating that the Palestinian people should be represented at the negotiations on the Middle East settlement and that the PLO should participate in them was an important clause of the joint Franco-Egyptian draft. And though the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution was not put to the vote at the UN Security Council, during its debates Washington again acted as an accomplice of Israeli vandalism in Lebanon, having rejected the draft right away, as it contradicted its aggressive plans.

It is noteworthy that neither France nor Egypt showed any special resolve to uphold their draft resolution which they agreed to freeze after the Reagan Plan was tabled on September 1, 1982, again toeing the American line. The American Plan was intended to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and the setting up of their own state, imposing upon them "autonomy" under the Israeli yoke instead.

Though the "well-balanced" French Middle East course of the 1970s was meant to be a guarantee of stronger, independent and useful ties for France, the tendencies observed from the beginning of 1981 showed that J. Mitterrand, pressed by Washington, was increasingly involving the government into aggressive American imperialist policy, contradicting the lack of a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Having created a new situation in the Middle East, the Lebanese war served as the turning point in the policy of France which switched over from diplomacy to direct military interference and showed its readiness to participate not only in diplomatic, but also in military actions, following the US scenario. France was the first among the West-European countries to respond to the US proposal to participate in the "multinational forces" in Beirut. The French military contingent was deployed in Lebanon under the pretext of some sort of a historical responsibility for the fate of this Arab state allegedly assumed by France. In fact, the "responsibility" only stemmed from the old connections between Paris and the Maronite bourgeoisie in Lebanon (which served to maintain French influence in the Middle East between the two World Wars) and from the French imperialists' desire to use a fitting pretext to "claim" the need for their presence in the strategically important region of the world. France also promoted the consolidation of the right-wing Christians in Lebanon, which obviously played into the hands of both US and Israel.

In summer 1982, France tried to act as a go-between, keeping contacts with the Israeli, Lebanese and Palestinian representatives. The then Foreign Minister of Israel I. Shamir had brazenly stated on this score that France should have better not meddle in the developments. But the Israeli government had nothing against the deployment of the French military units in Beirut in August 1982, following the eva-

creation of the Palestinian contingent. In the obtaining situation the presence of the French military forces there in fact legitimized the Israeli occupation of a part of Lebanon. These events confirmed the Israeli governments' willingness to use France's international prestige to consolidate the results of its aggressive policy, without heeding to France's opinion as regards the rights of the Palestinian people.

With French military units deployed in the Eastern Mediterranean, where, according to the foreign press, there were 1,750 officers and men comprising the "multinational forces" and, besides, 4,000 more manning the ships along the Lebanese coast, France found itself directly involved in military operations against Syria, as Syrian officers and men were part of the inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon. France's actions were objectively directed against the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

On September 23, 1983, the French Super Etandard bombers based on the Foch aircraft carrier carried out barbarous bombings of Druze villages and the positions of the National Patriotic Forces in the region of Aley. On November 17 they again attacked the NPF positions in the vicinity of Ba'albek. In this way France violated its promises to the effect that French contingents in Lebanon would maintain neutrality and noninterference in military actions on any side.

All this has engendered the danger of France deviating from its traditional independent foreign policy. This danger is all the more ominous as Washington wants to involve its NATO allies into carrying out aggressive US global plans and to draw them still further into its policy of tough confrontation with the Soviet Union in every region of the world. ■

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ETHIOPIAN POST-REVOLUTION DEVELOPMENT VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 42-45

[Article by Yevgeni Sherr and Olga Dolgova, candidates of Economic Sciences:
"Ethiopia: From a Monarchy to a People's Democratic Republic"]

[Text]

New Year in Ethiopia is celebrated in the second week of September when *meskerem* month sets in, in accordance with the local calendar. This is associated not so much with astronomical as with meteorological causes: the long four-month rainy season comes to an end and the peasants commence field work.

Some three weeks afterwards Ethiopians enthusiastically celebrate the "Meskel festival", a blend of ancient pagan traditions and the peculiar brand of local Christian faith. As legend has it, it was around this time that the Meskel, the cross on which Christ was crucified on hill of Calvary, was found. Those who discovered the cross lit bright torches on the hills in order to inform the peoples of neighbouring countries about the great event. That is why bonfires blaze everywhere during Meskel. In Addis Ababa the ceremony is held in the very centre of the city where a huge bonfire three-metres tall is ignited by Abuna Tekle Haimanot, the Patriarch of Ethiopia, himself. It is at this time that the mountain slopes and valleys of the country become covered with a veritable carpet of yellow daisies. Wreaths and bouquets are made out of them and they are also used to adorn the branches which will flare in the ritual fires in the evening.

For ten years already a totally new, progressive tonality is imparted to these festivities by the fact that the corrupt feudal monarchy was overthrown on September 12, 1974 and Socialist Ethiopia proclaimed. The country opted for the socialist orientation of development, that is, the road of the purposeful creation of the material and spiritual foundation for subsequent transition to the direct building of socialism.

This September is a milestone on this road: the holding of the Constituent Congress of the vanguard party of the working people of Ethiopia and the proclamation of the country a People's Democratic Republic have been timed to the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the revolution.

It is these aims that were declared the principal ones in the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution, adopted in April 1976. It took years of consistent struggle, hard and purposeful efforts on all fronts of the economy, policy, ideology and culture for these programme aims to be achieved in practice. A truly invaluable role was played in this by the vigorous activities of the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) that was set up in June 1980 in accordance with a decree issued in December 1979 by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) of the country.

The leaders of new Ethiopia realised that without leadership by a vanguard party, called upon to unite and head the entire social and political structure of the state of socialist orientation, without the adoption by the party of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the revolution ran the risk of finding itself in an impasse or degenerating into one of the mostly surface-skimming military coups that are so frequent in the modern history of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. An analysis of the situation in Ethiopia and of the world revolutionary process in the years since the Second World War brought the Ethiopian leaders to the conclusion that, conditions, the next stage in the creation of a society free of exploitation of man by man can and must be the formation of the people's democratic republic, the major goal of which would be the complete settlement of tasks set by the national democratic revolution laying down foundation of socialist society.

How did it happen that an ancient African country, one of the politically, socially and economically most backward ones, a country with the most archaic social relations and the most conservative leftovers of the past, embarked on the road of socialist orientation, adheres to the Marxist-Leninist theory?

The ruthless feudal-monarchic, clerical and national despotism that dominated Ethiopia till 1974 and was supported by the neocolonial ambitions of world imperialism caused a wave of class conflicts and created the soil for the penetration of socialist ideas into the country, mostly through progressive intellectuals. In those times the authorities tried to "fence off" the country from the influence of Marxism-Leninism and prevent the outside influx even of neutral information about the Great October Revolution of 1917, which started the building of socialism in the world, about the gains of working people in the Soviet Union, about socialist construction in other countries. But truth seeped into Ethiopia through most diverse channels, in particular through Marxist circles attended by Ethiopian students who studied abroad.

One should not forget also that Russia, Russians, called *maskob* in Ethiopia as a derivative of the word Moscow, for a whole number of factors had for many decades evoked the warmest feelings among Ethiopians. These factors include, for instance, the long-standing cultural ties, the unselfish assistance given by Russian medics to Ethiopians who were fighting against an imperialist intervention at the end of the past century, the sharp condemnation by the Soviet Union in the League of Nations of the attack against Ethiopia by the Italian fascists in 1935, support for Ethiopia's interests at many international forums, etc.

During the years of fascist occupation (1935-1941), the British administration (1941-1952) and later of American control (up till the revolution of 1974), the Ethiopian people learned from its own experience that the archaic social system, the system of the "multilayer" oppression of working people, including of national minorities, by secular and clerical authorities, differed little from the semi-colonial and neocolonial exploitation designed for it by imperialism. Realisation by the country's progressive circles of the hopelessness and fallacy of switching Ethiopia to the road of capitalist development gave a serious impulse to the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in the country.

Intellectual democrats existed also in the Ethiopian army. This manifested itself in a number of unsuccessful military coups and especially vividly in the course of the dynamic development of the revolution of 1974 and the very active participation of the military in this process.

After the overthrow of the monarchy the pace of revolutionary changes, of fundamental social and economic transformations increased with every year. There appeared specifically Ethiopian bodies of local people's power—the peasants' as-

sociations in villages and kebele in towns. The declaration of Socialist Ethiopia's economic policy, promulgated back on February 7, 1975, clearly delimited the spheres of activity of state, private and mixed capital. Banks, insurance companies, means of communication, the mass media, most of the processing industry, power stations, railway transport, port facilities, some 25 per cent of motor transport (in terms of freight-carrying capacity) were nationalised. Land was also nationalised as the first stage of the agrarian revolution.

It was the poorest peasants, that is, 85 per cent of the country's population, that gained most from the revolution: they were freed from the oppression of feudals who used to take away from them not only the meagre surplus product but also a part of the product necessary for life. The peasants' standards of living drastically improved (and this was one of the reasons why the drought of 1983 did not bring about catastrophic consequences as in 1973, when hundreds of thousands died of starvation). True, at the same time the marketable produce of farms decreased and food supplies to towns declined. To solve this problem big state farms are being set up and the forming of farm cooperatives is being carefully and gradually prepared. Aid is also being given to individual peasants who so far account for more than 90 per cent of the entire farm produce.

The nationwide revolutionary campaign of development initiated in 1978 and the establishment of the Supreme Council to conduct this campaign and carry out centralised planning became an important step towards the creation of a basis for developing planned economy. Six annual plans have been fulfilled by now and the country is now fulfilling a two-year economic development plan (1984-85-1985-86). After 1978 the average annual growth rates of the gross domestic product amounted to 3.65 per cent and this, as it has already been noted, in conditions of the discontinued plunder of the peasantry and the need to spend large sums on defence.

An eight-hour working day has been introduced at enterprises and offices. Extensive campaigns to stamp out illiteracy and develop medical services have been launched.

By its essence the above-mentioned programme of the national-democratic revolution signified the country's choice of the socialist perspective. This choice was consolidated in the course of the suppression of the internal counter-revolution's "white terror" (1975-1977) and the rout of the Somalian intervention (1977-1978) that was vigorously encouraged by imperialism headed by the United States which tried at all cost to retain its positions in the strategically important area of the Horn of Africa.

Today, when driving from the airport along Bole-road to the centre of the city guests of the Ethiopian capital read eye-catching slogans "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!", "Socialist Ethiopia Will be an Industrial Country!", "Our Ideology Is Scientific Socialism!" A red flag with the portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin flies over Revolution Square, while at some distance from it stands a bronze statue of Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the first victorious socialist revolution.

Considering the experience of the revolutionary-democratic parties of various countries of Asia and Africa the revolutionary forces of Ethiopia arrived at the conclusion that successful development along the chosen road requires transition to positions of scientific socialism—the ideology of the working class—and, consequently, the creation of a vanguard party of working people capable of directing the construction of the new life and ensuring effective political guidance of the masses in the transformation of society.

Understanding of this necessity was by no means a result of an armchair analysis made by members of PMAC. It was dictated by the entire course of the revolutionary process, by the conditions of internal class political struggle, by the striving to uphold the gains of the revolution. It is not by chance that precisely during the period of struggle against the Somalian

expansionists the leaders of PMAC began to stress that the creation of the party was a question of life or death for the revolution. The struggle against the interventionists, separatist groupings, against plots by "ultra-leftists" represented by the so-called Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and the right-wing reaction convincingly showed that even with the support of the army (which, incidentally, still had quite a number of reactionaries in its ranks) the PMAC alone could not cope with the tasks set by the revolution.

The victories scored by the Ethiopian people over the internal and external enemies resulted in a certain consolidation of the progressive forces in the country, strengthened the revolutionary regime's prestige and influence both inside Ethiopia and in the international arena. As was stated by the Chairman of PMAC Mengistu Haile Mariam in a speech in Moscow in October 1980, "after a lengthy struggle for strengthening the new system Socialist Ethiopia has at long last attained certain stability". But dialectically these successes generated new problems that did not exist yesterday and whose solution required of the Ethiopian leaders maximum foresightedness, patience and strict account of the specificity of local conditions.

This concerned the further rallying of all revolutionary forces and the drafting of their common ideological platform, a qualitatively new stage in the creation of the party of working people armed with Marxist-Leninist theory. The decree on establishing COPWE, promulgated in December 1979, formalised juridically the status of the latter as a centre for forming the party from among prominent and active participants in the revolutionary movement. Life confirmed the correctness of this step because the organisation of the party in the complex conditions of Ethiopia, an erstwhile politically most backward country, required gigantic preparatory work. The 1st and 2nd Congresses of COPWE and also the regular 7th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee became milestones along this road.

Convened in June 1980, the 1st COPWE Congress approved the rules of the Commission, the composition of its Central Committee (93 members and 30 candidate members) and Executive Committee (seven members). On decision of the Congress COPWE committees were set up in all the 14 provinces of the country, in the most important regions, in major towns, in the army and public organisations.

In his report to the 2nd COPWE Congress (January 1983) Mengistu Haile Mariam singled out three stages in the preparations to create the party. The inner organisational structure of the Commission was worked out at the first stage, the activity of its departments was organised and the 1st Congress was prepared. At the second stage the main efforts were directed at the utmost dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the improvement of the Commission's work. At the third stage (the period of the organisation of the party) COPWE was set the task of strengthening its structure and ensuring effective ideological and organisational guidance.

The composition of COPWE underwent serious qualitative changes in the period after the 1st Congress. Thus, in the period from November 1981 to January 1983 the share of workers among its members rose from 2.9 to 21 per cent, of peasants from 1.2 to 3.3 per cent, while the share of office workers, civil servants, military, etc., dropped from 95.9 to 75 per cent. The formation of primary COPWE organisations was of fundamental importance. By the beginning of 1984 their number was 240 (as well as 77 local and 33 district ones).

The Commission is engaged in extensive work to train future party cadres who are being trained mostly by the "Yekaitit-1966" political school¹ that was opened in Addis Ababa in 1974. Ideological workers for public organisations are also

¹ This is how February 1974, the date of the commencement of the revolution, is called according to the Ethiopian calendar.

trained there. The students attend courses of scientific socialism, the history of the CPSU and the international communist movement and of problems of party building. Almost 10,000 people have graduated this school in the years of its existence.

Questions of relations between COPWE and state bodies were extensively discussed at the 2nd Congress. It was stressed already at that time that with the aim of intensifying its political guidance the COPWE Central Committee devotes unflinching attention to the greater participation of its members in work in key government posts. Having analysed the changes in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country in the period of COPWE's activity the Congress noted that the concluding stage of the forming of the vanguard party was passing successfully.

A number of mass public organisations have appeared in the country's political arena as well, this being evidence of the drawing of ever broader sections of working people into the revolution. The politisation of the masses, the dissemination and explanation of the principles of scientific socialism became one of COPWE's main functions in this connection. It is quite natural that the Ethiopian comrades turned to the experience of the world's first country of victorious socialism, and of other states of the socialist community. The consolidation of this course was facilitated in no small measure by the internationalist assistance given by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other fraternal countries to Ethiopia in repulsing the Somalian aggression.

Public discussions, actually seminars of political education at which questions of ideological and revolutionary practice are discussed, are held regularly, once or twice a week, in all state and public organisations of the country since 1976. More than 13,000 such discussion seminars now function in the country. Ethiopia's mass media plays an important role in the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist teaching—radio, television, the press, especially publications of the COPWE Central Committee—the newspaper *SertoAder* (Working Person) and the theoretical magazine *Meskerem* (September). A contribution to the cause of the political education of the masses is made by the COPWE publishing agency *Kuraz* (Light) which has opened about 30 of its own book stores in various administrative regions. It has brought out several dozen titles of socio-political literature including works by classics of Marxism-Leninism in the Amharic, Tigrinya, English and other languages in a printing of up to 15,000 copies each. Big selections of Marxist-Leninist literature are sent to Ethiopia by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It is recorded in the policy-making documents of the mass public organisations—trade union, women's, youth, etc.—that the main directions of their activity are struggle to implement the programme of the national-democratic revolution, to master Marxist-Leninist theory and active participation in building a new society.

The PMAC and the COPWE are devoting attention to the restructuring of the system of education in the country, to bringing it in line with the tasks of the revolution. A course of social science is being introduced in all schools, while the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy are an obligatory course in establishments of higher learning.

The national campaign to liquidate illiteracy is also directed at spreading political knowledge. Over eleven million adults have passed through literacy courses during the past five years.

Decisions of exceptional importance for the country were adopted at the 7th Plenary Meeting of the COPWE Central Committee. It decreed to call the future party a workers' one. As a result of the liquidation of the feudal monarchy, the socialisation of the main means of production, the ever stricter regulation of the activity of foreign and national private capital, the laying of foundations of a planned economy, the in-

roduction of a progressive labour and social legislation, the gradual shouldering out of exploiter relations the country has transcended the framework of general democratic transformations.

The further dissemination of the ideology of scientific socialism, the creation of a Workers' Party based on principles of Marxism-Leninism, the planned proclamation of the people's democratic republic and the assertion of the latter by way of creating the appropriate state structures, the close cohesion with countries of the socialist community, the deepening of the anti-imperialist course in foreign policy comprise the real elements of the successful completion in Ethiopia of the stage of the national-democratic revolution and the country's gradual transition to the building of foundations of socialist society.

Marking on September 12, 1984 together with the peoples of Ethiopia, with all progressive mankind the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of the feudal monarchy in the country, Soviet people sincerely wish the citizens of that ancient country, which is now living through a period of rebirth, further successes in carrying out the vitally important for the republic plans of economic, social and cultural transformations.

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INTERNATIONAL

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT BY GDR TRADE UNION DELEGATION

Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Sep 84 p 3

[Communique on the official visit of friendship to the USSR of a delegation from the Central Board of the Free German Labor Union Federation, led by G. Tisch, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Free German Labor Union Federation Central Board]

[Text] A delegation from the Central Board of the Free German Labor Union Federation, led by G. Tisch, member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and chairman of the FDGB [Free German Labor Union Federation] Central Board, made an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union from 9 to 15 September 1984 at the invitation of the AUCCTU.

G. Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Central Board was received by M. S. Gorbachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During their stay in the USSR, the delegation visited Moscow, Kaluga and the Armenian SSR and went to industrial, construction and agricultural enterprises. The delegation members became acquainted with the urgent questions in the activity of trade unions, the working and living conditions of USSR workers, and with the achievements of the Soviet people in building a developed socialist society.

The GDR trade union envoys met with Moscow's trade union aktiv. A meeting of friendship with representatives of Kaluga workers was held with the FDGB delegation.

The hearty reception, which was given to the FDGB Central Board delegation everywhere, demonstrated the bonds of brotherhood, friendship and cooperation that are growing stronger from year to year between the workers and trade unions of the USSR and the GDR -- the first state of workers and peasants on German soil which is celebrating its 35th anniversary this year.

The FDGB Central Board delegation laid wreaths at V. I. Lenin's mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin's wall. The representative

of the GDR trade unions also honored the memory of F. Gekkert, a prominent figure in the German and international worker and trade union movement, placing flowers at his tomb near the Kremlin's wall.

Discussions between the FDGB Central Board delegation and a AUCCTU delegation, headed by S. A. Shalayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and AUCCTU chairman, were held during the visit.

During the discussions, the sides exchanged information on the participation of trade unions in the social and economic development of their countries and in carrying out the social and communist construction tasks that flow from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 10th SED Congress, the 17th USSR Trade Union Congress, and the 10th FDGB Congress.

The AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board expressed the mutual determination to use all existing opportunities and to find new forms and methods for expanding the relations of friendship and all-embracing cooperation between Soviet trade unions and the Free German Labor Union Federation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and on the unity and solidarity of the CPSU and the SED. These relations are being successfully carried out in accordance with the 7 October 1975 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the GDR and in compliance with the results of meetings between Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrade E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of state.

Primary attention during the discussions was paid to the status and prospects for the further developing of fraternal bonds between the Soviet trade unions and the FDGB. Urgent questions concerning the international situation and the present stage of the world trade union movement were discussed.

The USSR and GDR trade unions unanimously think that the main task in the work to defend the interests of the workers is the struggle against the growing threat of a nuclear war and for a lessening in international tensions and a firm peace.

I

The delegations pointed out with deep satisfaction that the Agreement on Further Developing Cooperation Between the AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board, which was concluded in October 1983, is being carried out successfully. Recognizing the increasing responsibility of trade unions for the dynamic development of the national economy and for the continuous improvement of the workers' working and living conditions during the period of developed socialism, both organizations have devoted special attention in their cooperation to the participation of trade unions in the solving of such cardinal problems as increasing labor productivity by incorporating the achievements of scientific and technical progress, in particular microelectronics and robotics;

and raising the effectiveness of social production by saving in every way possible and making the best use of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy resources, and operating time. A mutual study of practices in organizing socialist competition, which has been aimed at solving these tasks, has been carried out. The exchange of trade union work experience in the area of indoctrinational and mass cultural work and in solving social and living questions and labor protection and along other avenues was further expanded.

The parties agreed to use in the future such forms as the exchange of delegations and brigades of workers in similar type enterprises, friendship trains, innovator conferences, and the mutual sending of delegations from the sections of trade union centers, branch trade unions and territorial organizations.

In the future, both sides will exchange experience on the work of trade unions in a developed socialist society and on their participation in improving socialist democracy and the social principles, style and methods of trade union activity.

The participants in the discussions unanimously pointed out that the Economic Conference of the CEMA member countries at the highest level and the documents, which were adopted during it, have opened up to the trade unions of socialist countries new prospects for further expanding and deepening their cooperation. Based on the principles of socialist internationalism, they consider their most important duty to be the directing of the initiative of USSR and GDR workers toward carrying out the growing tasks in socialist economic integration, fulfilling national economic plans and export obligations, and increasing the effectiveness in exchanging experiences in the areas of intensifying production, developing and using progressive labor methods, incorporating the achievements of science and technology, and improving the organization of international socialist competition.

The AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board consider it necessary to contribute in every way possible to strengthening the role and influence of branch and territorial trade union bodies in increasing the effectiveness of the cooperation between labor collectives.

II

When discussing the main questions in the international situation, the delegations talked with deep anxiety about the further aggravation of the situation in Europe and in the world in general as a result of the adventurist policy of confrontation that is being followed by the United States and NATO, and the deployment of American medium range nuclear missiles, which have opened up a new and especially dangerous phase in the nuclear arms race, in several European countries despite the wishes of the majority of their people. The major portions of these missiles have been concentrated on the territory of the FRG which is being transformed into a launching base for U. S. nuclear missile weapons. It was also noted that the increase in military preparations by NATO is contributing to an increase in the activity of the most right-wing revanchist circles in the FRG, who are nourishing illusions about restoring the 1937 boundaries.

The AUCCTU and FDGB Central Board delegations declare that the policy of the United States and the NATO countries to disrupt the military strategic balance and to achieve military superiority and their attempts to dictate with the help of military force their will on other people present a serious threat to all mankind. They condemn the anticommunist "crusade" that has been organized by the United States and which is doomed to failure as a result of the steadily increasing might of world socialism.

The USSR and GDR trade unions fully approve the measures that the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty have been compelled to adopt in order to strengthen their security in response to the deployment of the American medium range nuclear missiles. They support the statement of the socialist commonwealth countries that these measures will be called off if the already deployed American missiles are removed from Western Europe.

The delegations expressed the firm conviction that the constructive peace-loving proposals, which were proposed by the member governments of the Warsaw Treaty in the 5 January 1983 Prague Political Declaration, the 28 June 1983 Moscow Joint Statement and the 14 July 1984 Declaration of the Economic Conference of the CEMA member countries are a real alternative to increasing the military threat and a way to strengthen peace and lessen international tensions and for all sovereign countries to cooperate, including in the economic sphere.

Both sides consider the Soviet government's proposal for negotiations with the United States to prevent the militarization of space to be exceptionally important for the cause of peace and the security of people.

The USSR and GDR trade unions express their solidarity with the growing anti-war movement that has reached a wide scale on the European continent. The powerful mass demonstrations on the Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace-- 1 September -- were a clear witness to the antiwar activity of workers.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism which will be celebrated in 1985, the AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board note the decisive contribution of the Soviet people to the liberation of mankind from fascist slavery and barbarism and to the saving of world civilization. Both organizations will exert every effort in the struggle of the people to see to it that the horrors of war and fascism will never be repeated. They will henceforth tirelessly strengthen the unbreakable fraternal union between the workers and the peoples of the USSR and the GDR and of all the socialist commonwealth for the sake of peace and for the people's welfare.

The parties expressed the firm conviction that the struggle for the first right of the individual -- the right to life -- and for the saving of mankind from a nuclear catastrophe can and must unite the trade unions of the European continent and the entire world regardless of their orientation and international affiliation. Both delegations again call upon the trade unions of the Western European countries to support the proposals that are contained in the documents adopted by the leaders of the trade union centers of the European socialist countries in Berlin during September 1984 and in Prague during January 1984.

In this connection, both trade union centers are prepared to further assist every effort aimed at organizing and conducting in the near future a world trade union conference on questions of peace and disarmament and the 5th European Trade Union Conference.

USSR and GDR workers and trade unions hope that positive understandings, aimed at lessening the threat of a nuclear war and relaxing tensions, will be achieved during the Stockholm conference on confidence building measures and on security and disarmament in Europe. The parties would welcome the development of joint proposals by European trade unions and their submission to the Stockholm conference.

Both organizations supported the continuation of the tradition of multi-lateral meetings between the trade unions of the socialist and capitalist countries in Europe whose conducting reactionary forces, led by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, are preventing at the present time.

The AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board declare their support for the movement for workers' conferences in the Baltic Sea countries, Norway and Iceland during which representatives of the workers and members of trade unions from countries with different social systems meet regardless of their affiliation with different international trade union organizations. The parties consider the workers' conferences to be a good example of cooperation and dialogue between the members of trade unions--the largest organizations of workers-- in the struggle for peace and the struggle against a nuclear catastrophe.

The USSR and GDR trade unions are on the side of workers in the capitalist countries who are struggling for their own rights and fighting against unemployment, bans on trades, the increased offensive of private capital against the trade unions, and the shifting of the burden of the arms race and the crisis onto the shoulders of the working individual.

They are in solidarity with the struggle of the workers in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, and apartheid and with their struggle for political and economic independence.

The parties express their unfailing support for socialist Cuba, which is repulsing the aggressive intrigues of American imperialism, and for the heroic people of Nicaragua, who are steadfastly defending their freedom and independence. They are united with the patriotic forces of El Salvador, who are waging a selfless struggle for national and social liberation, and with the other peoples of Central America and the Caribbean basin, who are struggling against U.S. imperialism and the domination and terror of pro-American regimes and fighting for democracy and social progress.

The AUCCTU and the FDGB Central Board support the workers and trade unions of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in their selfless struggle against the hostile actions of the forces of hegemonism and international reaction.

The delegations expressed their concern about the explosive situation which is being maintained in the Middle East and declared their full support for the Soviet Union's proposal about convening an international conference on a Near East settlement in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate as the only legal representative of the Palestinian people.

The participants in the discussions discussed questions concerning the participation of their countries' trade unions in the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions, international associations of trade unions and the International Labor Organization. They expressed the common desire to contribute to a growth in the authority and influence of the World Federation of Trade Unions in the international trade union movement and to the implementation of its program during the Eighties.

The visit of the delegation and the discussions took place in a business-like, comradely and cordial atmosphere and in a situation of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding.

The parties expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and the confidence that it would be a substantial contribution to the further development of indestructible friendship and beneficial cooperation between the workers and trade unions of the USSR and the GDR.

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The delegation from the Central Board of the Free German Labor Union Federation, headed by G. Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Central Board, which was in the USSR on an official visit of friendship at the invitation of the AUCCTU, flew from Moscow to their motherland on 15 September.

S. A. Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman; V. I. Prokhorov, deputy AUCCTU chairman; V. P. Provotorov, AUCCTU secretary; L. V. Petrov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council; I. A. Lanshin, chairman of the construction and construction materials industry workers' trade union central committee; V. Ye. Sergeyev, AUCCTU section manager for ties with trade unions in the socialist countries; and other responsible AUCCTU workers saw the delegation off at the airport.

E. Winkelmann, the GDR ambassador to the USSR, was also among those seeing them off.

8802

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INTERNATIONAL

FRG ARMS FIRM SAID TO TEST ROCKETS IN ZAIRE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Ernst Genri: "A Secret Test Site: The FRG Tests Missile Weaponry in Africa"]

[Text] What is "OTRAG"? It is a West German missile concern which has its own testing grounds located not in West Germany but in Africa. Its full name is Orbital Transport und Raketen Aktiengesellschaft."

Not that much is known about it but what is known is quite enough to arouse concern. How it began its operations and continues them at present reminds one of a vulgar American adventure movie, except that it is all taking place in reality instead of on a screen.

Approximately 10 years ago there suddenly appeared in the equatorial African country of Zaire, somewhere near the tributaries of the Congo River and Lake Tanganika, someone with the name of Lutz Kaiser, general director of the OTRAG firm. Subsequently it was revealed that he had taken possession up to the year 2,000 of a piece of Zaire territory 100,000 square kilometers in size and cut off on all sides. This territory is two-fifths of the size of West Germany.

From that time on it became practically impossible to go there without permission. Of 300,000 local residents only 30,000 remained; the rest were moved. According to the contract between Lutz and the Zaire government, nothing was to take place here without the knowledge and consent of OTRAG; the firm alone had the right to pass judgment and make decisions. The laws of Zaire no longer applied on this territory. The employees of the company and their families enjoyed diplomatic immunity; they were exempt from taxes, and they did not come under the jurisdiction of the Zaire courts. The company had the right to construct enterprises, build cities, change the course of rivers and, as it turned out later, to engage in something else.

Who were the owners of OTRAG? After prolonged attempts to conceal or keep the matter quiet, this information came out. During the Second World War nearly all of them were mixed up in the Hitlerites' desperate attempts to create a supersecret weapon which was supposed to be decisive for the outcome of the war: the V-2 rocket.

One of them was Baron Werner Von Braun, who directed this work in a top secret laboratory on the small island of Pinemunde on the Baltic shores of Germany. Another was Wehrmacht General Walter Dornberger, and the third was an engineer, Kurt Debus. All three, like many other Hitlerite rocket specialists, turned up after the war in the USA in the service of the higher military agencies.

In other words, after the war the former Hitlerite rocket aces joined their fate with American imperialism, which began to pay them enormous salaries. That is why this group not only did not arouse any resistance from across the ocean when it founded its new center in the depths of Africa; on the contrary, it received from over there the utmost support, which was, however, not public in nature.

Of course, it was not only old military specialists of Nazi Germany who were involved in OTRAG. There was--and is--every possible reason for supposing that some of this company's money has come from hidden funds left by the Hitlerites (by the SS people in particular) to their present-day heirs in the FRG. And there is something else which is no secret. As long ago as 1977 there was a story in the American press that the OTRAG company was helping a consortium of the two leading West German aviation concerns--Messerschmitt and Dornier. Information about this consortium, it goes without saying, cannot be found in any stock market reference book. But it is known how both these concerns were restored after the war and what they have become in recent years.

Every participant in the last war recalls Messerschmitt. In the service of Goering, the concern turned out about 40,000 airplanes for the Luftwaffe. After the war Messerschmitt moved over to the service of the Bundeswehr. It produces rockets, space equipment and helicopters. Today 8.8 percent of its shares belong to the large American military corporation, Boeing, which produces winged missiles and the Minutemen intercontinental missiles, and which participates in the creation of other mass destruction weapons. As for Dornier, backing it are the powerful American firms of Hughes and Northrop, as well as Tomson, the French electronics company. In addition, some funds, obviously flow into the OTRAG coffers through a relatively strange company, International Bank-corp, which is registered in the Bahamas.

Equatorial Africa and an archipelago in the Caribbean! This, too, resembles a cheap adventure novel, although in fact it is major imperialist politics which are being conducted. The same forces which owned the first Pinemunde are creating a second. The main difference is that now the American military-industrial complex is participating in it. That is why OTRAG is kept such a careful secret.

And what are these masters aiming at? After all, several years ago OTRAG, due to the scandal which its deal with Zaire caused, appeared to halt its operations there. Some people believed that it became frightened of public opinion and simply fled from Africa. It turns out that this was not the case. The West German militarists, like their American counterparts, do not give up their plans so easily. Especially when the discussion concerns the struggle against national liberation movements on the continent and profitable business in addition.

Quite recently there appeared reports saying that OTRAG had just conducted secret tests of an intermediate range missile in Zaire. These tests took place soon after a decision of the Council of the West German Union to revoke a ban, established for the FRG in accordance with international agreements, on the production of strategic bomber aircraft, as well as ballistic missiles. Clearly this is where the dog is buried.

It is not clear how OTRAG was able to return to the dark continent after all that it had engaged in. But it became known that as long ago as 1971 the Bonn Ministry of Scientific Research allotted for OTRAG a large sum for the development of a rocket engine, and since 1977, when the company carried out the first launching of a missile, it has continued to receive subsidies from various government and private organizations in the FRG. What kind of organizations? Not those which today are pushing militaristic revanchist organizations ahead so forcefully?

There is one more important fact here. As the Hamburg magazine DER SPIEGEL reports, one of the most revanchist right-wing politicians in West Germany, Franz-Joseph Strauss, former FRG defense minister and currently premier of Bavaria, was somehow involved in the OTRAG contract with Zaire.

Everything comes together here: the former Hitlerite rocket specialists and their successors from one end and the present-day West German militarists from the other. And the question is already being asked: are any people from Bundeswehr headquarters taking part in these affairs? The data on this have not been published but the political logic of things points to a possibility of this kind. On the basis of past experience it is well known that when German militarism gathers its forces, it essentially stops at nothing.

Its main aim was and still is to establish its domination over Europe. For this reason it made a deal with the USA, for this reason it joined NATC, and for this reason it is preparing to arm itself with missiles on a broad scale. Moreover, the West German military industrial complex calculates that arms of this kind will prove to be the most profitable business in its history. Politicians of the Strauss type are hoping to achieve in this way the summit of their careers.

And in turn, the neocolonialists (and this kind is already stirring in the FRG) believe that the establishment of missile test sites in Africa will make it easier to dispose of the peoples' national-liberation movement, which has experienced an upswing in recent times. One can hardly exclude the possibility that somewhere far behind the scenes in the affairs of OTRAG, the authorities of the South African Republic are involved in the affairs of OTRAG; they are people who have been linked for decades (as far back as Hitler's time) in the closest possible manner to big German capital and to the German militarists.

Is it accidental that not so recently Strauss, who has direct links with OTRAG, visited the South African Republic? Little by little this entire conspiracy is coming to light as if by itself, and it is just as anti-African as anti-European. The West German newspaper, DIE TAT, emphasized that given the seething focus of tension in southern Africa, missile test sites in these territories "acquire strategic significance."

The affairs in which OTRAG and similar organizations are involved are not accidental vulgar adventures as some people in the West may think. They are strategic operations of the imperialist camp, which are undertaken in a planned manner as part of preparing a third world war. They are components of the international policy of the capitalist world, frightened by the movement of history and entangled in its own contradictions.

But the more the imperialists--American as well as the West German--expand and multiply these evil operations the more complex their own position becomes. You cannot escape history either in Europe or in Africa. Recent events on the "dark continent" which prove the growing might of the national liberation forces confirm this vividly. The conspiracy of the OTRAG owners and their hidden accomplices in the Bundeswehr will inevitably turn against them sooner or later.

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INTERNATIONAL

ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION SEEN TO FOLLOW MARXIST-LENINIST COURSE

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 136-141

[Article by G.L. Gal'perin: "The Ethiopian Revolution: Certain Questions of Theory and Practice"]

[Text] The Ethiopian revolution is 10 years old. This noteworthy event is being extensively marked within the country and among its friends abroad.

At the same time the Ethiopian revolution is in many ways still "virgin land" for Marxist studies. The current assessments of past years should obviously be augmented with profound scientific analysis. The first 10 years of the revolution offer a serious and solid basis for this. The purpose of this report, is to cover to one degree or another problems such as assessing the Ethiopian revolution, use of the historical experience of the CPSU and Soviet government by the revolutionary-democratic forces in Ethiopia, and also the illumination of certain questions connected with the creation of the ruling vanguard party in that country.

There are, in my view, at least two reasons for writing such a piece. First, a decade of revolutionary practice in Ethiopia provides an opportunity for summing up some of its results. Second, many facts indicate that on the eve of the 10th anniversary, long-term political and propaganda sabotage on many levels, whose coordinator, as in the past, is Washington, has again been developed against Ethiopia--the largest country in Africa to have a socialist orientation. This circumstance calls for a rebuff to be delivered against slanderous U.S. propaganda.

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When the national-democratic nature of the Ethiopian revolution and its "turn" toward a socialist future became clear, all the most influential and authoritative propaganda and scholarly efforts were mobilized in the West in order to misrepresent and besmirch its true nature. The main cause for the alarm on the part of bourgeois researchers, publicists and special services was and remains the prospect of Ethiopia's development along a path of socialist orientation and the attractiveness of the ideas of socialism for the country's broad masses.

Discrediting the course of socialist orientation pursued by a number of African countries in general and Ethiopia in particular has become one of the main directions in the propaganda-ideological attacks being made by imperialist forces in the West. The range of their assaults here is extraordinarily wide, from accentuated "benevolent" bourgeois-liberal recommendations and veiled attempts to discredit the ideas of scientific socialism to openly very reactionary "coverage," falsifications and malicious inventions.

Against this background special significance attaches to the objective assessment of events in Ethiopia and a truly scientific analysis of them by Soviet researchers. Thus, in the work of R.A. Ul'yanovskiy the Ethiopian revolution is characterized as a major political phenomenon in the life of Africa, and of international significance. The revolution offers "practical proof of Marxist-Leninist theoretical tenets on the state of national democracy, the national-democratic stage of revolution moving beyond the framework of classical bourgeois revolutions, and the antifeudal, antiimperialist, and to some extent anticapitalist direction of this kind of revolution." [1]

The leadership and revolutionary aktiv in Ethiopia regard the first 10 years of the revolution as the beginning of a transition period to socialist revolution. "This period," the Ethiopian leader comrade Haile-Mariam Mengistu emphasizes, "is one when on the one hand the old order has already been destroyed, while on the other, a base is being created for a new order. At the same time this process is clearly defining a socialist future for this order." [2]

The national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia expresses historically the realization of a policy of socialist orientation. The events of the first years during this presocialist stage agree completely with the main law-governed patterns in a course of socialist orientation, as formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. Thus, within Ethiopia the positions of large foreign capital were liquidated (true, in this country they were not secure anyway for a number of reasons), and also the positions of the local bureaucratic bourgeoisie. But first, the liquidation of the feudal-landowner system was of decisive significance for the development of the revolution. The second direction is "insuring for the national state commanding heights in the economy and a switch to the planned development of production forces." [3] During the first 2 years of the Ethiopian revolution all natural resources were nationalized, including the land, along with banks, insurance companies, the largest enterprises, entire sectors of industry, the plantations and virtually all the infrastructure systems. At the same time, within Ethiopia a temporary (and law-governed) disparity between the city and the countryside came about, typical of the backward agrarian country. [4] Eliminating this disparity is one of the basic not only economic but also sociopolitical tasks of the revolution. Serious work has been started on national and regional planning: the publication of a 10-year staged plan for socioeconomic development during the period 1984-1993 was timed for the 10th anniversary of the revolution; and much work is being done to enhance the role of the working masses in public life and gradually to strengthen the state apparatus with cadres loyal to the people. Finally, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the course of socialist orientation presupposes "the antiimperialist nature of foreign policy" and a strengthening of the revolutionary parties expressing the interests of the broad masses of workers. [5]

In the international arena Ethiopia takes a firm antiimperialist position. It stands in the front ranks of those fighting against the arms race. In Addis Ababa they justifiably associate the deployment of U.S. first-strike missiles in West Europe, especially in Italy, with a threat against an extensive region of Africa. Ethiopia speaks out decisively against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism, and in defense of the national liberation movement, especially in the south of Africa.

Ethiopia's authority is growing within the United Nations, the nonaligned movement, and the Organization of African Unity (the OAU). The headquarters of the OAU and of a number of other pan-African organizations are located in Addis Ababa. A fundamentally new qualitative stage in the foreign policy of the Ethiopian revolution is its natural rapprochement with the countries of the socialist community and close multilateral cooperation with them.

* * * * *

The emergence and establishment of a group of states with a socialist orientation eloquently confirm the classical Leninist thesis that some of the features of the October Revolution possess not only local, national-liberation and Russian significance, but also international significance.

As CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee B.N. Ponomarev noted in his report to the international scientific conference in Berlin in October 1980, "the experience in building the bases of a new society gained in the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community is of great value for states setting out on the path of socialist transformations." [6] Here, it is important also to note that V.I. Lenin stressed the special significance of the revolutionary experience of Russia, as a country standing between Europe and Asia, between West and East, and that "Russia therefore can and should have shown certain distinctive features that, of course, lie along the general line of world development but that distinguish its revolution from all previous revolutions in West European countries and that involve certain particular innovations when applied to the countries of the East." [7]

Naturally, here there can be no mere mechanical duplication. States with a socialist orientation "differ significantly from countries in which socialist revolution has triumphed and represents the starting level for the development of production forces, the social structure of society, the disposition of political forces and, finally, the nature of the socioeconomic content of the tasks resolved." [8] Nor should it be forgotten that it is a question of different historical eras.

Nevertheless, as is emphasized in a collective work by leading Soviet orientalists, "it can be seen from the range of problems facing revolutionary democracy in countries that have undergone noncapitalist development, and from analysis of the methods and ways that these problems have been solved, that similar problems were sometimes resolved with similar methods and ways at specific stages in the development of the Soviet Union." [9] Here, having in mind the majority of Afro-Asian countries, the stress is usually laid on use of the experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics, and also Mongolia.

Without forgetting any of this, it is, in our view, very important to emphasize also the following circumstance. Given the similarity between Ethiopia's problems and those in other developing countries, including those states with a socialist orientation, specific features do exist that markedly distinguish Ethiopia from the other countries, at least in tropical Africa.

It seems to us that many of the features of Ethiopia's state and socioeconomic structure of the recent past provide grounds for speaking of the possibility of using in that country experience gained not only in some of the outlying regions of the USSR but also throughout our entire multinational state in general, especially when it is question of the countryside and agriculture.

Ethiopia's revolutionary democrats have already started to use some of the important principles of Leninist strategy relating to the first years of Soviet power. This was seen, for example, throughout the entire course of the first stage of the agrarian revolution (1975-1979), as the result of which the feudal-landowner system was liquidated and nationalized land was given to the peasants; and in the move on to the second stage (the establishment of state and cooperative sectors in agriculture) and the approach to solving the national question. During the difficult period 1976 through 1978, when internal and external counterrevolution tried to create a united front against Ethiopia, the revolutionary democrats turned in practice to the Leninist instructions on arming the popular masses and creating a revolutionary army and militia. Another example: V.I. Lenin noted that "the idea of soviet organization is simple and can be applied not only to proletarian relations but also to peasant-feudal and semifeudal relations." [10] In Ethiopia this was to some extent reflected in the creation of the peasant and city associations, many of whose functions are similar to the functions of local soviets.

Of course, in Ethiopia's revolutionary practice there are many local and national specific features, but it is not in this but in the general law-governed nature of revolutionary practice and in the most important tenets of Leninist strategy and the experience of the young Soviet Republic that the course of the Ethiopian revolution is being defined. Speaking on 29 March this year at a Kremlin reception, Haile-Mariam Mengistu stressed that in the creation of the Ethiopian vanguard party of the workers, great significance attaches to "the experience that we draw from the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union." [11]

* * * * *

One feature of the Ethiopian revolution is that it was started and has been developed in the absence of any vanguard party. As is known, progressive circles in the army became the leaders of the 1974 revolution. Political power was concentrated completely in the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC). This was in law-governed agreement with the first stage of national-democratic revolution and resulted from the unprecedented intensification of the class struggle against internal and external reaction. The PMAC has found a place forever in the history of the Ethiopian revolution and in the history of the country. All the major transformations and advances in the first 10 years of the revolution have been associated with this combat political headquarters. [12]

It must be said that the PMAC and the country's revolutionary aktiv started to look for a way to create a political vanguard immediately following the overthrow of the monarchy. The question of creating a party was first raised in the well-known 20 December 1974 declaration of the Provisional Military Government. It is important that this declaration also rejected the idea of party pluralism under the conditions of the Ethiopian revolution. In the program of the national-democrat revolution (1976) it was already a question of creating "a party of the working class." Since the late Seventies the question of organizing a combat revolutionary vanguard has become a major political problem in Ethiopia. At the Kremlin reception in honor of the Ethiopian leader Haile-Mariam Mengistu, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium comrade K.U. Chernenko said: "the forthcoming creation of a ruling vanguard party guided by the principles of scientific socialism will be of exceptional importance." [13]

Trying to resolve this task in the shortest possible time historically, the Ethiopian comrades have at the same time rejected any artificial forcing of the pace in the process of organizing the party. On 18 December 1979 a PMAC decree was published in Addis Ababa on the creation of the Commission for the Organization of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWPE). This decree contained for the first time a detailed and clear-cut definition of the main ideological, political and organizational principles of the vanguard party, its class and revolutionary nature, and its place in the system of the country's public institutions. It was stressed in the document that COPWPE's aim is "to organize a unified and strong party of the workers that relies on the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and whose historic mission will be the liquidation of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism* on Ethiopian soil, and the creation of a people's democratic republic and a leadership for the people in achieving socialism and then communism." [14]

The creation of COPWPE was preceded by a stubborn ideological struggle. As in any revolution, the Ethiopian revolution gave rise to a large number of the most varied ideological platforms, from Marxist to ultramonarchist. This was a reflection of the extraordinary variegated social and national makeup of society and the involvement of the most varied classes and strata in the revolution. Questions of attitudes toward the revolution itself, and particularly to the prospects for its development, remained central. Despite its considerably positive nature (a call to unite all progressive forces and a statement on the question of a political party), the first developed political-ideological

* This term was placed firmly in the political lexicon during the first years of the Ethiopian revolution. By "bureaucratic capitalism" is meant the bureaucratic bourgeoisie representing the big landowners, who are closely associated with joint-stock capital, mainly foreign enterprises and firms, and with the ruling clique in the old regime and its bureaucratic apparatus.

document of the revolution, namely the 20 December 1974 declaration of the Provisional Military Government, was at the same time distinguished by the absence of any real class analysis or class ideas.

Socialist orientation as understood from the positions of scientific socialism was replaced with the apologetics of an "Ethiopian socialism," essentially a variant of "African socialism" and "national socialism." In April 1976 the program of the national-democratic revolution was published--a most important document of the Ethiopian revolution. By then the views of a considerable section of the revolutionary aktiv had undergone substantial change, coming closer to a scientific, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the nature and aims of the Ethiopian revolution. The slogan of socialist orientation was expressed more clearly, and the thesis on the leading role of the party of the working class was formulated. At the same time some of the realities of the future were transposed into the present, as for example, references to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Finally, in the decree on the creation of COPWPE and in the decisions and documents of that organization and the materials of its press organs (1979 through 1984) Ethiopia's revolutionary democrats have been speaking from the positions of scientific socialism.

Work to enlighten the masses ideologically has been done primarily through COPWPE, the public organizations, groups teaching basic political facts, and special seminars, and through the systems of training for party, state and economic cadres, within the framework of the national campaign to eradicate illiteracy, and with the aid of the mass information media and the newly created party press (the newspaper (SERTOADER) and the theoretical journal MASKEREM), and also through the publication of Marxist-Leninist literature. The nature of agitation and propaganda is commensurate both with current operational tasks and with the level of training achieved in any particular group of the population of workers.

One of the most important questions of the revolution is closely linked with the problems of ideological work: the party is the masses. When he addressed the delegates of the 2nd Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, V.I. Lenin emphasized that "we should be aware that a single vanguard cannot achieve the transition to communism. The task is to arouse revolutionary activeness to spontaneous activity and the organization of the working masses regardless of the level that they have reached..." [15] In Ethiopia they are striving systematically to implement this Leninist instruction. Under the leadership of COPWPE national women's and youth organizations have been set up, the trade unions and the system of peasant and city associations have been expanded and strengthened, a people's control apparatus has been organized, and so forth. They unite millions of people, and it was announced at the 2nd COPWPE Congress (January 1983) that the revolutionary aktiv totals 1.3 million people. This is undoubtedly one of the most serious gains of the revolution in a country that has only recently rid itself of the autocracy and the yoke of the landowners, and it represents a reliable bulwark for the vanguard party.

At the same time, it was underscored at the congress that an obvious trend is being seen toward regarding the public organizations, primarily the trade unions and peasant organizations, as having only social and economic significance.

In his report to the 2nd COPWPE Congress comrade Haile-Mariam Mengistu stated that "this is a completely incorrect approach and it should be changed immediately. It is essential to learn that the mass organizations form the basis of the political system." [16]

Following the 1st COPWPE Congress in June 1980, a start was made on the task of creating a ruling party on a national organizational-political basis. At the 2nd COPWPE Congress, which took place very early in 1983, it was emphasized that within the country "favorable conditions have been established" to implement plans to create a Marxist-Leninist party. This meant first and foremost that as the political-organizational nucleus of the future party, COPWPE had demonstrated its ability to resolve the cardinal tasks of domestic and foreign policy. It was decided that the 3rd COPWPE Congress, scheduled for the 10th anniversary of the revolution, will at the same time also be the party's constituent congress.

In May of this year a start was made on direct work to transform COPWPE into the vanguard ruling party. By then the COPWPE cells were already in existence at many enterprises and establishments, virtually all state farms and a number of cooperative farms, and in the mass organizations and the army and at all territorial-administrative levels.

The most important and crucial thing at the first stage was to transform the cells into the primary organizations of the vanguard party. Their composition was determined on a personal basis, by means of careful selection (and therefore a certain weeding out), with active discussion of the draft rules and other documents of the future party. In fact it was a question of party admission at the primary level. As comrade Haile-Mariam Mengistu has rightly emphasized, "the primary organization is the foundation of the party and a most important champion of its policy and of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism." The first stage was completed by 22 June 1984, and then a start was made on setting up organizations at the district, provincial and regional levels. As the Ethiopian press noted, it is important that the campaign took place in an atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm and was combined with analysis and criticism of the work of enterprises and the state apparatus.

It can be seen from the documents of the COPWPE plenums (particularly the 3rd Plenum in November 1981) and the congresses what great importance has been acquired by and is attached to the social makeup of the party, and to the selection and admission of party candidate members and members. Whereas in November 1981 the makeup of COPWPE--the basis of the party that has been formed--was only 2.9 percent workers and 1.2 percent peasants, in October 1982 it was already 21.7 and 3.3 percent respectively. Attention is drawn to the quite high proportion of the managerial intelligentsia and servicemen. This phenomenon is natural in a peasant state, taking into account the role of the progressive strata in the army in the revolution. Here it should be borne in mind that the overwhelming majority of today's enlisted men and officers have worker and peasant origins. It is also natural that the insignificant proportion of workers in the party is determined by the small numerical strength of the working class. [17]

In this connection the following question might be raised: have the Ethiopian comrades been in any hurry to implement the decision made (at the COPWPE Central Committee 7th Plenum in January 1984) to name their party the "workers" party? The development of the revolution shows that they have not. Arguments in favor of this name are as follows: first, the name reflects the ideological and class direction of the party, and second, it is focused on the future.

For the 5 years that COPWPE has existed fruitful, comradely relations have been established between it and the CPSU. And here it should be noted that, as was pointed out in the joint Soviet-Ethiopian communique on the results of the visit of comrade Haile-Mariam Mengistu to the Soviet Union in March this year, cooperation between the CPSU and COPWPE has been "of great importance for the entire complex of Soviet-Ethiopian relations." [18]

In the Central Committee accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress the revolution in Ethiopia was characterized as one of the most significant victories in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples during the Seventies. Today this assessment can also be transferred to the Eighties. In the events of the last 10 years in this very ancient country of tropical Africa the combination of the universal nature of Lenin's concepts on the liberation and social revolution and the international influence of the Great October with the specific local features has been seen quite clearly. Many of the political, social and to some extent economic achievements of the Ethiopian revolution are now obvious.

The first decade of the Ethiopian revolution has been a continuous fierce struggle against internal and external counterrevolution. Catastrophic droughts lasting several years have more than once been visited upon the country. Ethiopia's revolution has been assigned by Washington to the register of top-priority military-political targets. At the reception in honor of Haile-Mariam Mengistu in March of this year, K.U. Chernenko stressed that "the shadow of the imperialists' policy has been cast over many regions of the earth. One object of their special hostility is states that, like Ethiopia, have held to a course of socialist orientation and are reluctant to subordinate themselves to the diktat of foreign monopolies.

"No one, however, has been given the power to turn back the wheel of history. It is impossible to conquer peoples imbued with the ideas of true independence who steadfastly defend their right to determine their fate themselves. This is one of the historical law-governed patterns of our time." [19]

FOOTNOTES

1. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy. "Ocherki natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by. Voprosy teorii i praktiki" [Outline of the National Liberation Struggle. Questions of Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1976, pp 441, 444.
2. ETHIOPIAN HERALD 4 Jan 1983.

3. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 12.
4. Thus, whereas in 1983 the state sector accounted for 93 percent of gross industrial output, 79 percent of domestic wholesale trade, 72 percent of foreign wholesale trade, and 80 to 100 percent of the economic infrastructure, in agricultural production (including cooperative agricultural production) only 9-10 percent was accounted for by the state sector.
5. "Materialy..." op. cit. p 12.
6. "The Joint Struggle of the Workers and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress, Materials of an International Scientific Conference, Berlin, 20-24 October 1980" Moscow, 1981 p 53.
7. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 379.
8. "Sotsialisticheskaya orientatsiya osvobodivshikhsya stran. Nekotoryye voprosy teorii i praktiki" [The Socialist Orientation of the Liberated Countries. Questions of Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1982, p 215.
9. Ibid.
10. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 41, pp 244-245.
11. PRAVDA 30 Mar 1984.
12. V.I. Sharayev. "Efiofiya shagayet v budushcheye" [Ethiopia Marches into the Future], Moscow, 1984, p 51.
13. PRAVDA 30 Mar 1984.
14. ETHIOPIAN HERALD 19 Dec 1979.
15. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 39, p 330.
16. ETHIOPIAN HERALD 4 Jan 1983.
17. According to assessments by specialists, in 1983 the numerical strength of the urban proletariat was no more than 150,000, including about 90,000 factory and plant workers and 60,000-70,000 people in rural areas. Thus, permanent workers in the city and the countryside made up about 0.7 percent of the entire population.
18. PRAVDA 3 April 1984

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INTERNATIONAL

PRIMAKOV, KIM CONTRIBUTE TO NEW BOOK ON ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1: PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 3, May-Jun 84 pp 31-38

[Review by I. L. Vartanov of book "Vostok: rubezh 80-kh godov: osvobodivshiesya strany v sovremennom mire" [The East: The Turn of the 1980's: Liberated Countries in the Modern World] by Ye. M. Primakov (director of the collective of authors), F. G. Kim, R. I. Andresyan et al., Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 269 pages]

[Text] In the first part of the monograph the characteristic processes of the socioeconomic evolution of the developing countries of the East in the 1970's are distinguished: the increase of their share in world industrial production and world trade; the rapid development of capitalism, which is aggravating internal and external contradictions. One of these contradictions is the lack of conformity between the high rate of the natural growth of the population and the decreasing demand for "living labor," which stems from the introduction of modern equipment.

In the past decade two phenomena have become especially significant. The first is the unprecedented increase of the dependence of the centers of world capitalism on deliveries of raw materials from the developing countries. By the early 1980's the share of the developing countries in the world export of various types of raw materials came to (percent): petroleum--95, phosphates--80, tin--78, bauxites--71, copper--60, manganese ores--50 (p 24). The second is the massed export of capital from the petroleum-exporting countries to the developed capitalist states; at the end of 1980 the foreign bank deposits of the OPEC member countries came to \$420 billion, while in the total amount of export (of which Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates and Libya account for 90 percent) loan capital makes up three-fourths and entrepreneur's capital makes up one-fourth. Today "the former exclusively one-sided dependence of the indicated countries on the centers of capitalism is already out of the question" (p 28).

The gaining of political independence was accompanied by the increasing demand of the developing countries for the reform of the entire set of international economic relations. This marked the beginning of the crises of the imperialist system of the exploitation of the liberated states. The attempts of the latter to erect barriers in the way of the expansion of multinational

corporations found expression in such massed pressure on western partners, that the monopolists were forced to agree to the formulation of a "code of behavior" of multinational corporations and a code of the transfer of technology. It is necessary to note that the movement for a new world economic order is very diversified and is not free of ideological errors. Thus, some members of the "Group of 77" are attempting to impose on the socialist states the same obligations as on the developed capitalist powers, although it is well known precisely who bears the responsibility for the colonial robbery and the consequences of the exploitative economic policy.

In the developing world the increase of economic differentiation is in evidence: a group made up of the 31 least developed states was distinguished, and at the other pole are the so-called new industrializing countries and territories (among them in the East are Turkey, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines) with a fast pace of industrial development, which is oriented toward the export first of all of "labor-intensive items." The gap between the former and the latter in the amount of the per capita final product increased during 1970-1978 from 1:4.9 to 1:8.9 (p 53). As a whole the economic development of both is characterized by extremely contradictory processes: the liberated countries have eliminated in themselves the direct levers of control of foreign monopolies and have achieved a significant increase of their own share in international economic relations, but at the same time remain for the most part a backward and exploited part of the world capitalist economy.

The new phenomena in the development of the national economies of the liberated countries, which appeared quite clearly during the period under review, are, the author writes: 1) the formation of a "dualistic" ("modern" and, on the other hand, traditional) economic structure; 2) the development of a "modern" sector with national capitalist business undertakings on a broad scale; 3) the crisis of the traditional economy; 4) structural gaps in the production mechanism. India, in which capitalist industry is not capable of including the other, traditional units of the economy in the production mechanism of the "modern" sector, can serve as the most vivid example of dualism in the economy and of the contradictions (disproportions) which are connected with this.

Heterogeneity, that is, the simultaneous emergence of various stage and technological forms and types of capitalist business undertakings, is characteristic of the capitalism which is forming in the Afro-Asian world. The mass appearance in agriculture (first of all in the zones of the "green revolution"), small-scale industry and the sphere of services of capitalist enterprises of the manufactory or small-scale mechanized type marks the expansion of the small-scale capitalist sector (p 69). But along with this it is also possible to note the formation of big business; the embourgeoisement of the local exploiting classes, cooperation with foreign monopolies, the accumulation of capital by the local bourgeoisie, the enlargement of the administrative elite of the state sector and the activity of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie are contributing to this. The degradation of traditional forms of production, the author writes, is one of the disastrous consequences of the capitalism which is being developed in the countries of the East. Such factors as "the expropriation of the immediate producers" of the agricultural

sphere, as well as the "population explosion," which is aggravating the problem with respect to "surplus" population, are appreciably influencing this process. The increase of surplus manpower is responsible for the decline of labor productivity and is leading to a decline of the output of the net product per worker in the agricultural sphere. For example, in Bangladesh the rate of this decrease over a 20-year period was as follows (percent): 1950/51-1960/61--0.5; 1960/61-1964/65--1.5; 1964/65-1969/70--0.2 (p 77).

If we speak about the structural gaps in the economy of the developing countries, here the process of the disintegration of the basic subdivisions of the economy (the market of means of production, monetary capital, manpower) is the most significant. Dualism finds expression in practice in the existence of as if two economic systems with their own cycles of reproduction, the connection between which is extremely weak, and it is supported by extra-economic factors: the activity of the state and others. Frequent crisis situations in the economy are a consequence of this.

Against the background of the process of the development of capitalist production relations in the liberated countries, which is saturated with contradictions, social changes are occurring, among which the basic ones are: a) the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class; b) the increased role of the peasantry in the economy, politics and social life; c) the increase of the proportion of the marginal strata of the population; d) the formation of new traits among the local bourgeoisie; e) the stepping up of the activity of the middle strata and the noticeable strengthening of their position. The broadening of the scale of industrialization, the change of the sectorial and skills structure of the working people, the increase of the role of trade unions and the successes of the international communist movement--these are the significant factors, which were responsible for the increase of the class self-consciousness of the Afro-Asian proletariat, it is noted in the monograph. As to the peasants, "the main factor of the social existence of the eastern countryside is impoverishment, and the processes of the formation here of capitalist relations are obviously inferior in scale to this impoverishment" (p 98). The highest level of involvement of the peasantry in political and social life is observed in the "second generation" countries of socialist orientation (in particular, in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia), which is connected with the many years of involvement of the peasantry in the armed struggle both against imperialists and colonizers and against the domestic reaction (feudal lords, separatists and others).

In the complex mosaic of classes, social strata, layers and social groups it is very essential to take into account the quantitative growth and increase of the overall proportion of people of the marginal strata and paupers. From 1970 to 1977 the number of unemployed alone, not counting other people who lack permanent means of existence, increased in India from 3.7 million to 10 million, in Sri Lanka--from 381,000 to 567,000, in Turkey--from 44,000 to 142,000. The increase of the proportion of these groups (especially urban paupers and tramps who came from the countryside) among the socially active population is leading to an increase of the social tension within Afro-Asian societies and to the aggravation of "the contradictions which are rending them."

The local bourgeoisie is playing an important role in the sociopolitical and economic life in the liberated countries. Such traits as the concentration of national capital and "even the broadening of the positions" of national monopolies are grouped in the monograph with the new traits of the bourgeoisie in "third" world countries (India, Pakistan, Turkey, Thailand, South Korea, prerevolutionary Iran and others). In recent years "democratic capital" (middle and small-scale), which developed first of all on the basis of "rich peasant-petty bourgeois accumulation" and business undertakings, as well as the embourgeoisement of a portion of the peasants during the agrarian reform, has been declaring itself more and more decisively. The national "newbourgeoisie" treats imperialism, feudalism and big business hostilely, which is creating the prerequisites of its "formation of a temporary bloc with revolutionary democracy, which is dictated, moreover, by the interest in an independent foreign policy and in the existence of a strong state sector, which is capable of defending the national bourgeoisie from foreign competition" (p 106).

In the second part of the monograph considerable attention is devoted to the role of the developing countries in the world revolutionary process. Analyzing the peculiarities of the political struggle in the states, in which bourgeois parliamentarianism or a monarchal or national authoritarian regime has been established, the authors stress: "a change in the correlation of the social and national aspects of this struggle in the direction of the strengthening of the former of them" is now unquestionable (p 123). Whereas during the period of the anticolonial struggle the most important tasks found concentrated expression in the aspiration for national liberation, today the intensifying social class struggle is acquiring greater and greater significance and is also becoming a means of accomplishing national tasks which have not been completely fulfilled. The matter is especially complicated with authoritarian regimes, which imperialism regards as "weak links" of its remote periphery and with respect to which it has formulated different kinds of concepts of "the revolution from above" for the purpose of intercepting "the revolution from below" and the doctrine of the prevention of "red revolutions."

In the early 1960's "the white revolution" in Iran was the practical embodiment of these concepts. Along with Iran and Saudi Arabia (in which they are also trying to implement the ideas of "a revolution from above") it is possible to single out two groups of countries, in which a new sociopolitical force--the military and (or) civilian bureaucracy--dominates. As a result in the indicated type of countries military bureaucratic (Thailand, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh) or civilian (Tunisia, the Philippines) authoritarian regimes have been formed. In all the countries with a military bureaucratic model of "the revolution from above" on the ideological level loyalty to religion is declared and a policy of the "depoliticization" of the masses is pursued, but in their economy the state and national factors play a significant role within state capitalism or state monopoly capitalism. What are the prospects? At a specific historical stage, it is noted in the monograph, the regimes of "controllable democracy" are still capable of ensuring a compromise conformity of the base and the superstructure, that is, in a coercive manner to hold in relative balance the various sociopolitical forces, which base themselves on different modes of production, but further

bourgeois modernization inevitably leads to the disturbance of the "balance," the constructs of the model are overstrained and the next crisis of the social structures emerges.

The intensification of the revolutionary process is continuing in the states which chose the socialist prospect.

The processes of the progressive differentiation of the liberated countries within the confrontation of the two world formational systems are continuing. A significant group of countries are orienting their social modernization toward socialism. In spite of the objective difficulty and certain contradictoriness of development within a socialist orientation, at the turn of the 1980's "it (the indicated orientation--editor) has finally been firmly established as one of the promising models of the transition to socialism of the former colonial and semicolonial countries" (p 203). It is fundamentally important, it is stressed in the monograph, that with the strengthening of the socialist orientation and its development into a national democratic revolution the corresponding group of countries begins to be integrated in the world socialist system, while its clashes with imperialism acquire a more and more distinct class antagonistic nature.

FOOTNOTE

1. The leading group of developing countries, which are taking the capitalist path of development, have developed a so-called modern sector, which is based on industrial forms of production--editor's note.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOKS LINK ZIONISM WITH JEWISH EXCLUSIVITY, ANTI-SOVIETISM

Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in Russian No 8, Aug 84 pp 278-282

[Review by G. Kas'yanov of books "Temnaya zavesa" [The Dark Curtain] by Tsezar' S. Solodar', "Molodaya gvardiya", Moscow, 1982, and "Farisei" [The Pharisees] by Tsezar' S. Solodar', "Pravda", Moscow, 1983: "The Front Line of Journalism"]

[Text] The name of writer journalist Ts. S. Solodar' has been known for a long time to Soviet and foreign readers. His plays, satirical and humorous stories, satirical articles and poetry always arouse great interest. Such also is the perception by the reading audience of the journalism of Ts. Solodar', one of the basic themes of which is the exposure of the theory and practice of international Zionism--a component and frequently a leading force of the world imperialist system.

The recent journalistic works of Ts. Solodar--"Temnaya zavesa" [The Dark Curtain] (for the first edition the 1980 Leninist Komsomol Prize was awarded to the author) and "Farisei" [The Pharisees] from a cycle of journalistic essays)--are also devoted to this problem. The uniqueness of these books is that they were written on the basis of personal meetings of the author. Zionist theorists and functionaries, their victims--who are cruelly persecuted or have been vulgarly deceived, the fighters against Zionism--such is the group of people, the impressions from contacts with whom filled the journalism of Ts. Solodar' with a large number of reflections, generalizations and conclusions, one of which is that "Zionism by its class essence is the sworn enemy of the working class and all the forces, which are speaking out against the exploitation of man by man and national discrimination. Zionism as compared with several other bourgeois nationalist trends did not limit the scale of its activity to the framework of one country or one region, but established and is broadening in every possible way the branched international network of its organizations and centers. Zionism expounds anti-Sovietism especially maliciously and is organizing subversive acts against real socialism."

Analyzing the many-sided ideology, policy and organizational structure of Zionism, Ts. Solodar' exposes its criminal goals and methods and shows that Zionism and progress are incompatible. Having set as its goal the achievement

of world domination, international Zionism correlates all its other tasks and practical steps with it.

Having behind it the united might of the finance capital of the bourgeoisie of Jewish origin (not without reason did the French newspaper TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN write that "the world Zionist movement is first of all an enormous financial enterprise"), Zionism never narrowed its tasks to the creation of a Judaic state in Palestine. Ts. Solodar' was able on the basis of numerous examples to prove that modern Zionists are just as orthodox in their thoughts and actions as their "spiritual fathers" and are just as true to the behests of their theorists, among whom an important place is held by V. Zhabotinskiy, who wrote: "We do not expect, of course, that everyone 'to the last man' will want to immigrate today or tomorrow to Palestine, since the tasks of Zionism are much broader and deeper than the formation of a Jewish state."

Ts. Solodar' was able to notice another tendency of modern Zionism. The backstage and direct influence of Zionists on the upper echelons of power of the countries of the capitalist world is becoming more and more cynically undisguised. Now the statements of an American senator that for him to speak out openly against Zionist organizations means to become a "finished man," are not surprising in either the United States or Western Europe.

Zionism in its theory and practice forms a bloc with, patronizes and guides, as Ts. Solodar' shows, forces which at first glance are directly at variance with it. The fanning of antisemitism as a necessary component of the support and stimulation of Jewish self-isolation, the genetic and practical organizational link with fascism and political trends similar to it--all this once again testifies to the intentional unscrupulousness in the means of Zionism and to its rigid pragmatism, which is not hampered by any moral and ethical principles.

The author of "Temnaya zavesa" and "Farisei" cites the statement of one of the Zionist authors, N. Weinstock, that "Zionist mysticism hangs in the air, if it does not cite Judaic religion." So it was from the moment of the origination of Zionism, such a situation is also preserved today. At the 7th Congress of the World Zionist Organization, which was held in 1905, the portrait of the founder of Zionism T. Herzl and a sculpture of the "founder" of Judaism, the Biblical prophet Moses, held an equivalent place on the stage. Both then and today Zionists live and act in accordance with the laws of the Torah and the Talmud, in which, in particular, there are rules which characterize clearest of all the attitude of the Orthodox Jew toward non-Jews, for whom there exists a set of insulting synonyms--"goyim," "acumy," "apicos," and with respect to whom Judaism teaches: "the property of non-Jews is free"; "whoever seizes earlier the property of a non-Jew, it belongs to him" (Hoshean-gamispot), "if a heathen has killed a heathen or has killed a Jew, he answers, but if a Jew has killed a heathen, he does not answer" (Aboda zara).

These rules, which characterize the attitude of Judaism toward non-Jews, did not become an archaic curiosity. In 1963 American Rabbi A. Cronbach wrote: "With the coming of the modern age the basic conditions of Jewish life changed. The only alternative for Judaism was to die.... And still Judaism

did not die.... Ghetto Judaism changed into emancipated Judaism, in order to free Judaism of all obsolete forms... and preserve its eternal essence."

The "eternal essence" envisages an exclusively utilitarian approach not only to "goyim," but also to common people, whom the Talmud permits to kill (of course, only rich Jews) even on the day of absolution (Pesachim, 49b).

World War II During the years of which hundreds of thousands of simple Jews perished, while the Nazis willingly exchanged their blood brothers, who had a tight-filled purse, with the Zionists for trucks, soap, tungsten.... The present policy of the state of Israel, which in the practice is permanently waging declared and undeclared wars, at the fronts of which duped Israeli soldiers are dying, while their leaders at this time are raking in with both hands both superprofits and political capital; the periodic outbreaks of antisemitism in the West, which are impossible without the direct encouragement, and frequently also the participation of Zionists, who play a very significant role in the social structure of these states--all this attests that Zionism, doing everything to achieve economic, political and ideological domination on a world scale, is assigning the honorable role of future rulers by no means for all those whom it is recruiting to "the united Jewish nation," but only for the elite, offering the others the honorable right to serve as fertilizer in the matter of implementing this idea.

However, at the stage, when the goals have not yet been achieved, Zionism is in no hurry to reveal its cards completely, regarding people of Jewish origin throughout the world as its potential social base. Great efforts are being exerted by Zionism in order to unite them all on the basis of its by no means scientific doctrines.

Many of those, who have become associated with the Zionists, chose it not because of ideological, abstract considerations and hopes for the quick realization of its "great goals," but because of a naive pragmatic, mercenary choice, in the hope of obtaining immediate reward for their insidious betrayal of the country, which raised them, and progressive ideals. Not without reason did a group of former Soviet citizens in February 1977 write in a letter to the UN Secretary General: "We were prompted for our most part by a narrow-minded psychology." Such is one of the incidents of the "psychological warfare" against the USSR.

However, international Zionism, as well as all imperialism as a whole, has special scores and a special approach to the USSR. Ts. Solodar' cites a statement of Norman Podhoretz, "a confirmed Zionist and 'intellectual' anti-Soviet": "It is necessary to see to it that it would become difficult for the Russians to live." This statement is not by chance. It reflects the trend, in the course of which the transition from global anticommunism to anti-Sovietism, and from the latter to Russophobia is natural. The aspiration to arouse decentralization nationalism and to play on it for the purpose of discrediting and weakening the USSR, in order in the future to restore in it the exploitative system or to make it an easy military prey of the leading capitalist powers--such are the plans of the world reaction.

The Russophobic statement of the editor of the journal COMMENTARY, which is published by the American Jewish Committee, will become more ominous, if one recalls the minor dialogue with the participation of Z. Brzezinski, former assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs and director of the Tripartite Commission, which now represents one of the attempts of world capital to set up a shady supergovernment. At one of the meetings at the White House Brzezinski, having interrupted the experts on the use of nuclear forces, who had spoken, asked the question: "But where are the criteria of the annihilation of the Russians?" And, without having been satisfied by the subsequent explanations, he added: "No, no, no. I have in mind by no means all Soviet citizens. I have in mind only the Russians."

Not wishing to squander its energies, the world reaction is concentrating its forces on the main directions of confrontation of the two social systems.

The anti-Sovietism of Zionism has as its own component and significant part the struggle for young people. Remembering the statement of Aristotle that "it is easy to deceive young people, since they live on hope," international Zionism, in the words of Ts. Solodar', "sees in the hunting for young souls one of its most important tasks." Soviet radio journalist Yu. Erlikh in the book "Bityye stavki" [The Beaten Stakes] cites the statements of the managers of the "Jewish Agency," who explain in detail to Erlikh the policy of Zionism with respect to young people, having accepted it as their ideological ally: "Practical experience shows that it is easier to work with young people, they have still lived little, done little and acquired little--both morally and materially! It is necessary to tease them with what they do not have yet. Young people are impatient, they want to get everything a little sooner and a little more. A boy or a girl... does not yet have... sufficient life experience--here it is necessary to influence them, to heighten ambition, to tempt with charms of foreign life, to draw pictures which are capable of kindling the imagination. If even later not entirely what they were counting on exists, it is nothing, they will be used to it!"

They will get used to being rejected, deceived and used by Zionist organizations, organizations which, according to the definition of Ts. S. Solodar', are "bourgeois nationalist... with a pronounced reactionary chauvinistic program, which were set up in the class interests of the Jewish capitalists." Their aspiration to camouflage their sources, "to conceal," in the words of M. A. Gol'denberg, a Soviet researcher of Zionism, "the social pedigree of Zionism, to prevent the working Jews (not only them) from perceiving its real class essence," is futile.

After the first acquaintance with the real causes of Zionism all honest people begin to treat with distrust their pompous self-praises, which conceal the anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, which are characteristic of them, and the hatred of everything progressive, and, having found out more, they understand all the danger of its ideological constructs and practical activity and the full necessity of an uncompromising struggle against them.

The words: "Be vigilant to the provocative intrigues of international Zionism!" resound from the pages of "Temnaya zavesa." And the content of the book of Ts. Solodar' once again confirms how timely and necessary this appeal is now.

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INTERNATIONAL

IRAN SAID LAX IN PROSECUTING DRUG TRAFFIC LEADERS

NC260855 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Station commentary: "how do the Iranian Officials Fight Drug Smugglers?"]

[Text] Every day the Iranian mass media publishes remarks by representatives of court officials in which drug smugglers and traffickers are strongly threatened and the people are promised that these smugglers will be completely wiped out.

This is not the first (?time) that the Iranian courts have strongly threatening drug traffickers and smugglers who have sold their conscience and soul to the Devil in order to amass profits and wealth at the cost of the lives and health of millions of people. But alas, it should be stressed that the smuggling of poisonous leaves thrives today as in the past, and leaders of drug smuggling and trafficking gangs let these remarks go in one ear and out the other.

Naturally, some of the rank and file members of groups that smuggle the hellish poisons become targets of strong threats and some are even punished. But have the interests of the true engineers and organizers of the criminal network of drug production and distribution--that is, the spider web which covers countries of the golden crescent, Pakistan and Iran--been harmed in the least?

It might be argued that it is likely that the names of the leaders of this secret business are unknown. But, unfortunately, this is not the case. Corruption is thriving and spreading right in front of the eyes of high-ranking officials of the Iranian judicial system who enjoy rights and privileges.

The leaders of the criminals can be easily found and arrested within the 14 large bases which have been set up around the cities of Mashhad, Zahedan and Zabol--bases where counterrevolutionary insurgents are trained in brigandry and counterrevolutionary subversion and who are then sent to the DRA to carry out their subversion.

One of these leaders is known as Mohammad Yunes Kholes, leader of the so-called Hezb-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan, who is known--even by his comrades-in-arm--as the CIA's devoted servant. Another leader of the drug producers and smugglers is Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a full-fledged monarchist and supporter of the idea of

resurrecting monarchy in all countries, under whose supervision secret laboratories belonging to counterrevolutionary insurgents are operating. Another leader of drug producers and smugglers is Seyyed Ahmad Gilani, a war-mongering monarchist, who very generously distributes heroin and hashish among Iranians living along the border with Pakistan. This criminal gangster is not even ashamed of the fact that he is the leader of the Gadiriveh Islamic sect, and he does not believe that this rank clashes with the rank of drug smuggler.

These veterans are well known everywhere. One might initially believe that the uprooting of the illegal transactions by insurgents is very easy and possible. But the fact that no steps are being taken against the practical insurgents and smugglers has greatly surprised both the Iranians and foreign observers. Not only are these groups not fought against, but, to the contrary, they are receiving manifold support. Of course, the reason for this is understandable. How can one seriously fight one's own proteges and people to which refuge has been granted on one's territory? This is why (?even today)--exactly at a time when members of the Iranian court verbally threaten the Afghan counterrevolutionaries--camel caravans carrying their heavy loads of heroin, morphine, opium and hashish are slowly and confidently moving along secret passes and mountain tracks in Khorasan and Baluchestan. They are confident because they are surrounded by guards who are armed to their teeth, and, thus, the smugglers continue their business with peace of mind because they know that, for the time being, they are being attacked by empty words and threats on the one hand, but, on the other, they have been bestowed with the title of freedom fighters and they are not spared any support. (?Therefore, there is no reason for them to be afraid.)

CSO: 4640/105

BOURGEOIS VIEWS OF AFGHAN COUNTERREVOLUTION BLASTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 8 June 1984 carries on pages 7 and 8 a 2,400-word article by Rami Rashid titled "Imperialism's Intrigues." Rashid criticizes the false views of many Western bourgeois writers on the Afghan people's government and counterrevolution. Some Western researchers attempt to draw a link between Islam and "Pushtunvaliy," a term for the tribal laws of the Pushtun, and to argue that the laws of the new regime are opposed to the "Pushtunvaliy." The West German V. Shtoyl claims that the laws of Islam are in accord with the "Pushtunvaliy," whereas the Australian Beverly M. Meyl argues that they are not in accord, but that Islamic ideas have penetrated the "Pushtunvaliy." In fact, it is natural that some measures taken by the DRA government are not in accordance with the outdated rules of the "Pushtunvaliy." Internal and external reactionary groups try to take advantage of this by spreading the slander that the DRA government attacks Islam and is opposed to the role of the Pushtuns. However, "Pushtunvaliy" and Islam are different concepts, and all the laws of the "Pushtunvaliy" are not immutable for the Pushtuns.

Bourgeois falsifiers claim that the rebel movement is a "jihad," that is, a struggle on behalf of religion, and try to prove that land reform and other progressive steps encounter sharp resistance from farmers. For example, the West German researcher Y.G. Grevenmeyr claims that land redistribution meets armed resistance. The Indian author M.S. Agvani writes that mullahs oppose land reform and frighten farmers by telling them it is a sin to take the land of other Muslims. The progressive American journalist M. Betcher writes that DRA government decrees such as those insuring equal rights for women, guaranteeing voluntary religious conviction and combatting illiteracy, invite the opposition of landowners, tribal chiefs and clerics. Indeed, the rebels' fight against the DRA government is a fight organized by landowners, tribal elders, clerics, former administrators and foreign enemies, and aided by former exploiters, some deceived farmers and a faction of former officials. Hafizullah Amin was responsible for bringing to the ranks of the counterrevolution some groups of officers, a portion of the farmers and various strata of the masses. Political and cultural backwardness, superstitions, imperial intrigues, dissident movements, threats and terror made some farmers drift into the enemy's ranks, where not a few of them recognized the error of their ways. The progressive West German researcher V. Brenner notes that many of the rebels are farmers who were tricked or forced into the counterrevolution. Reactionary forces spread the ideas of jihad against the infidel and are working against Afghanistan in order to increase rebel ranks. Seriously and honestly

that the new government faces a class not a religious opposition, and cites examples from Afghan history when clerics conspired with tribal chiefs to proclaim a jihad whenever it was necessary to mobilize the masses for their support in class struggles.

Bourgeois writers who claim that there is a religious war in Afghanistan inflate the number of refugees and generally group them together with the counterrevolutionaries. The Pakistan government especially inflates the number of Afghan refugees in that country, although the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW doubts its statistics. The Pakistan government covers up its subversive activities among the refugees and claims that it only provides shelter for them out of humanitarian motives. Aid from Western countries, Muslim states and international organizations, doesn't reach the refugees. According to NEWSWEEK, Pakistan officials sell tents intended for the refugees and pocket the money. In 1978-1979 some \$2 million in aid was actually used to buy weapons.

M. Betchel writes that the refugee aid campaign helps the counterrevolution. Imperialist and reactionary forces also rob and torture those in refugee camps to get them to join the rebels. Khan Abdul Valikhan, a Pushtun leader in Pakistan, says that several counterrevolutionary "parties" in Pakistan, along with Pakistani soldiers, block the attempted return of refugees to their homeland. For example, in May 1982 over 5,000 Afghan refugees in Bajovuri asked the local government for permission to return, but were refused. Forty people were arrested for leaving a camp near Surkhan in Belujistan. Male refugees who refuse to join the rebels are taken to special prisons and some are even killed.

Imperialist and reactionary writers also try to distort the true attitude of the DRA government toward Islam. For example, the American author M.B. Alcotte writes that the DRA government has done nothing to protect the religious rights of Muslims. Actually, Babrak Karmal's government corrected errors initiated by H. Amin and proves its esteem for Islam in practical ways. It issued an appeal to the Ulama and mullahs who had committed no crimes before fleeing the country to return and resume their religious duties. Betchel notes that the government observes regulations which preserve Islam as a religion and takes steps to support the interests of clerics. It formed a Main Administration for Religious Affairs and included notable religious figures in its structure. Abdul Aziz, chairman of this administration, said that it has authority in all issues concerning religious ceremonies and convictions. Brenner has personally witnessed the free observance of Ramazan by Muslims and the aid of the government for the pilgrimage to Mecca. M. Alcotte tries to disparage the government's support for the religious and claims that only a trivial number of Muslims support the new regime. However, this doesn't correspond to the truth. At an Islamic forum held in Kabul in 1980 more than 800 mullahs and Mullahs expressed their support for Babrak Karmal's government. S.M. Tavakoli, in conversation with M. Betchel, states that Afghan religious figures do not see any incompatibility between the goals of the April Revolution and the basic tenets of Islam. Clerics are engaged in socially useful labor; for example, in the campaign to eradicate illiteracy. But most of them are armed for self-defense because enemies of the people killed over 100 of them in 1981.

Imperialist authors say that enemies of the April Revolution fight out of conviction. Facts show that the rebels don't respect the simplest human rights or moral principles. Enemy leaders conspire with world imperialist circles to betray their own country, and have private accounts in foreign banks for the purchase of arms. They use terror to intimidate the people. In November 1982 rebels planted bombs in four Kabul restaurants, killing 21 and wounding 26. Several terrorists from the Gulbuddin organization were arrested for this. From the beginning of the April Revolution up to December 1982 over 100 medical centers were destroyed by them. These "soldiers of the faith" try to blow up precious monuments of Eastern architecture, including such ancient mosques as the famous Hazrat Ali in Mazari Sharif. The journalist R. Ahmad who emigrated from Pakistan to the United States writes that the rebel supporters of Islam are medieval fascists opposed to literacy and scientific progress. DRA teachers appealed to UNESCO in an open letter that said the rebels hide behind the mask of true Muslims but trample all the sacred principles of Islam. They kill religious figures, teachers, farmers, workers, and children, burn down schools, hospitals and farms, and destroy roads, bridges and historical monuments. The DRA Ulema has appealed to world Muslims to condemn the undeclared war of imperialists and reactionaries.

The DRA government's attitude toward religious convictions, its steps to defend the interests of workers, its successes in the battle against the enemy, are all convincing refugees to return to their homeland. Counter-revolutionaries are also joining groups that defend the government and revolution. The KABUL TIMES reported that some 2,500 counterrevolutionaries switched sides as a result of a government amnesty declared on 10 June 1982. Chiefs and elders of the Afridiy tribe have announced support of revolutionary Afghanistan, and demanded that rebel groups leave their territory. Obviously, imperialist ideologists falsify the basic truths of the people's struggle. Enemies of the Afghan people use Islam to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and to justify imperialist and reactionary intervention.

9439

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INTERNATIONAL

TASHKENT HOSTS WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION MEETING

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 October 1984 carries on page 1 a 150-word UzTAG article titled "Fruitful Cooperation" noting the conclusion on 19 October in Tashkent of a session of presidents of the World Meteorological Organization's technical commissions. The session considered ways to increase cooperation and optimum use of meteorological data in various sectors of economy, as well as ways to improve the technical means of collecting, processing and transmitting information. Yu. A. Izrael', first vice-president of the organization, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the USSR State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, noted that the meeting's sessions considered such vital questions as changes in world climate and in the ozone layer of the atmosphere and environmental pollution. It was stressed again that effective functioning of the meteorological service depends on free and limitless access to information for all the more than 150 countries who are members of the organization. Any one of them can independently plug into one of the information channels and get the desired data.

It is no accident that the meeting took place in Tashkent, notes the article. The capital of Uzbekistan is one of the country's four centers for gathering and processing meteorological information. It has a large scientific research institute and a collecting point for the satellite data.

CLOSE TIES WITH ASIAN, AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS STRESSED

[Editorial Report] Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 42, Oct 1984 carries on pages 7-8 a 1,500-word interview, conducted by A. Sokolov, with Aleksandr Dzasokhov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With the Countries of Asia and Africa, part of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, AAPSO. Dzasokhov discussed the recently held 5th Conference of the Soviet solidarity organization in Tbilisi and the tasks that lay before the committee. He mentioned in particular Soviet support for liberation movements and developing countries struggling to defend their revolutions and achieve economic independence, noting specific cases of Soviet aid to parties such as Frelimo and SWAPO and for the Palestinian cause. Dzasokhov also mentioned the struggle against psychological sabotage carried out by the imperialists. "It is known," he stated, "that through the fault of imperialism, peace and solidarity are being subjected to serious trials...AAPSO and its Soviet committee will do everything possible in order to strengthen and broaden the association. Today it is impossible to do otherwise."

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

ITALIAN TRADE UNIONIST IN TASHKENT--(UZTAG)--A delegation of the Tuscany regional trade unions committee, headed by committee secretary Alvaro Igrì, is acquainting itself with the life of Uzbekistan. On 27 September the guests from Italy were received in the Uzbek SSR Trade Unions Council. [Excerpt] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Sep 84 p 1]

ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--Gerardo Chiaromonte, a member of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, who is visiting the Soviet Union, has arrived in Uzbekistan. On 23 August, G. Chiaromonte was received in the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Aug 84 p 1]

CSO: 1807/77

NATIONAL

RSFSR STATISTICS CHIEF OUTLINES SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 84 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Pavlovich Dryuchin, chief, RSFSR Central Statistical Administration, by F. Ivanov: "The Computer Is Addressing You"; date and place not specified]

[Text] One year ago the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree on conducting in January 1985 a sample-type socio-demographic survey of our country's population. We requested A. P. Dryuchin, the chief of the RSFSR Central Statistical Administration to talk to us about this.

[Question] Aleksandr Pavlovich, as is known, population censuses have been conducted regularly in our country every 10 years during the post-war period. What is the reason for conducting such an "extra-plan" survey, and how does it differ from a population census?

[Answer] Indeed, the principal source of information about the population, one which contains its detailed demographic and socio-economic characteristics, is the census. The last one, as you recall, took place in January 1979. However, the development of our society is dynamic in its nature, and today it already presents a somewhat different picture than it did over five years ago. The composition of the population has changed with regard to sex, age, level of education, and social position; specific changes have also occurred in the distribution of the population; the number of city-dwellers has increased. The upcoming survey will enable us to study these changes, to obtain additional data necessary for drawing up plans for socio-economic development, as well as for scientific research.

It should be noted that this survey differs, to a large extent, from the censuses to which we have already become accustomed, above all, by the fact that it will be not solid-continuous but rather a sample-type, i.e., it will encompass not the entire population of the country but only a specific portion of it. It has been decided that in January of next year 5 percent of the USSR's population; this constitutes about 14 million persons, about half of which, by the way, live on the territory of the Russian Federation.

[Question] But why precisely 5 percent, and how was the sampling of the population conducted?

[Answer] It is a well-known fact that, taking into consideration the vast scale of this country, population censuses require significant material and labor outlays. But the outlays for a sample-type survey are much less than those required for a full census.

The system used for selecting this 5 percent of the population is as follows: to begin with, its base was established; serving this purpose were the electoral districts for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation; then the data concerning these districts were loaded into the computer of the Main Computer Center of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the machine "sorted out" the districts within the borders of each autonomous republic, kray, and oblast by the numbers of voters--from the largest ones to the smallest--and then selected one district out of each 20. It was the latter which comprised this 5 percent.

[Question] All these are, so to speak, organizational points. But what are the particular characteristics of the survey's program, its contents?

[Answer] It consists of several divisions. The first included a group of questions which were in the program of the 1979 All-Union Census of the Population. For example: sex, age, marital status, nationality, education, and several others. Also included here is one of the most important questions characterizing the population's standard of living--this is the question of the average monthly income for 1984.

The following divisions present topics whose detailed analysis is being carried out for the first time on such a broad scale. Included among them, in particular, are groups of questions about marriage and births. Based on the replies to these questions, a study will be made of the stability of marriage, the frequency of births given by women of various generations, and the total number of children which married women intend to have. Also included here are questions characterizing the participation of women in social production during a year when a child is born, as well as questions pertaining to the use of leave granted to women in order to care for a child.

The next division of the program includes questions connected with housing conditions. And, although the distribution of living space is carried out, as a rule according to the principle of granting a separate apartment to each family, in the cities of the Russian Federation alone about 20 percent of the population is still living in apartments which are not separate.

Of undoubted interest is the program's last division. It enumerates the following major socio-economic problems: providing food products, the assortment and quality of industrial goods, living conditions, medical services, transport operation, social insurance, and everyday services to the public. From among these problems each adult must choose not more than three, which, in his opinion, should be given top priority for solution.

The entries on the survey forms will be utilized solely for obtaining the compiled data on the composition of the population with regard to the program which has been worked out, while the employees who will conduct the survey are prohibited from informing anybody about the contents of the replies.

[Question] The preparation for this survey has already been conducted for more than a year. What does it consist of? Is everything ready in the localities?

[Answer] Immediately after the issuance of the Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, the appropriate decisions were taken by the Councils of Ministers of the union and autonomous republics, the ispolkoms of the Councils of People's Deputies, which specified the tasks of the local management, economic, and statistical organs with regard to preparing and conducting it. The USSR Central Statistical Administration prepared the survey program, worked out and sent all the necessary documentation to the localities. In order to conduct it successfully, it is necessary to pay the most serious attention to questions of regularizing the names of streets, the numeration of home ownership and apartment rentals, the complete current account of the population. It should be noted that the solution of these problems, which are most important for the survey, have still not been accorded the necessary attention, unfortunately, in a number of the republic's territories.

[Question] And what will this survey contribute on a nationwide or republic-wide scale?

[Answer] An enormous importance is being ascribed to the sample-type survey. Judge for yourselves because, of course, participating most directly in drawing up its program--together with the USSR Central Statistical Administration--were USSR Gosplan, USSR Goskstrud, USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The materials from this survey are necessary for working out the plan for our country's economic and social development for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the longer-term future. Analysis of its results will allow us to evaluate, to a certain extent, the effectiveness of the measures of the demographic policy being conducted in our country, as well as to specify measures for further improving it. The data gained by this survey will help us in the scientific forecasting of demographic processes.

Research on the problems of migration will give us the opportunity to study the trends of population movement and its degree of mobilization in individual regions of the country. Based on the replies from the Asia-Pacific population, employed in the housework and private farming sector, a study will be made on the utilization of labor resources, as well as on the possibility of drawing additional manpower into social production.

Materials of this survey, of course, will also be of help in solving many other socio-economic problems.

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VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS REVIEWS RECENT CHERNENKO BOOK

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[Unattributed review of book "Narod i partiya yediny. Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [The People and the Party Are One. Selected Speeches and Articles] by K.U. Chernenko, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 496 pages]

[Text] The Political Literature Publishing House has published the book "The People and the Party Are One" by CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium comrade K.U. Chernenko, containing speeches, articles and reports covering the period 1976 through April 1984. The book comprehensively and brilliantly reveals the creative activity of the party and the people in implementing the decisions of the 15th and 16th party congresses and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. The focus of attention in these published works is the CPSU--the leading force in socialist society and the political and ideological vanguard of the Soviet people--and the development of its links with the masses. In the book the idea is consistently pursued that one characteristic feature of CPSU policy at all stages in its creative activity has been and remains the organic unity of continuity and innovation in formulating and resolving the fundamental problems of creating the new society. Comrade K.U. Chernenko stresses that "continuity is not some abstract concept but a living, real thing. And its essence lies primarily in not standing still but moving ahead. Moving ahead, relying on all that has been achieved previously, creatively enriching it and focusing the collective thoughts and energy of communists, the working class and all the people on the unresolved tasks and the key problems of the present and the future."* As we approach the 27th CPSU Congress communists and all Soviet people are directing their efforts toward solving these tasks and key problems.

The book comprehensively reviews the theoretical activity of the CPSU--one of the main sources of its strength. Our party has always been guided and is still guided by Marxist-Leninist science. The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are a sure compass for the policy of communists, a reliable tool for the cognition and transformation of the world. Merely possessing the scientific

* K.U. Chernenko in the book being reviewed. Further references to material in the book will be given in text.

theory enables the party at each historical stage to define strategy and tactics and lead the Soviet people confidently along the road of socialist and communist progress.

"... The 'ideologue' only deserves this name," Lenin wrote, "when he moves ahead of any random movement, pointing out the road; when he is able to solve before others all the theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions..."* The CPSU worthily fulfills this role.

Comrade K.U. Chernenko notes the substantially growing significance of theoretical work and of ideological activity in general under present conditions, which is linked with the effect of a number of internal and external factors that are taken into account by the party as it works out and pursues its own political course. It is pointed out in the book using major historical facts, that the Leninist general course of the CPSU insures the country's steady advance along the most important directions in the building of communism.

The growing scales and complexity of the tasks of communist creation and the increasing interconnection between progress in the economy and sociopolitical and spiritual progress in society are closely and directly linked with the growing consciousness and labor and social activeness of the masses.

At the same time the scientific and technical revolution, the complicated fuel and energy, raw materials and certain other conditions involved in the function of the national economy, and the exacerbated problem of population are exerting an increasingly tangible effect on the development of society. "The elaboration of a scientifically substantiated economic, social and demographic policy," the author stresses, "is today simply impossible without deep theoretical work on the immediate and long-term consequences and trends engendered by these processes in the production forces, in the interconnections between man and nature, in the structure and proportions of the national economy, and in the content and nature of labor, social-class relations and the control of society" (page 279).

The book points out the prominent importance of the concept of developed socialism worked out by the party, and the fruitfulness of applying this concept in the various fields of public life. This concept, comrade K.U. Chernenko notes, has become a reliable theoretical and methodological basis for defining the strategy and tactics of our party for the long term historically, and the main lines of its organizational and ideological work. It has enabled the party to consider more deeply the actual dialectic involved in establishing communist socioeconomic formations and to clarify ideas about the duration of the essentially socialist phase of the new society and the far from exhausted possibilities for progress within its framework (page 278).

Now, it is stressed in the book, the task is to further concretize the concept of developed socialism and to analyze the new phenomena in society. Serious theoretical problems are arising in connection with the need to substantially

* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 5, p 363.

improve the efficiency of the economy and establish a classless structure for our society and strengthen the leading role of the working class, and in connection with the dynamics of national relationships, the development of socialist popular democracy, and the prospects for Soviet statehood growing into public self-management (page 401). "Initiative, bold scientific quest, detailed analysis of the mechanism by which objective laws operate, the ability to see phenomena in their interrelationships and contradictory development, and to provide practical work with recommendations and reliable predictions--this is what is demanded today of the social scientist" (page 391).

The task for Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought and the social sciences is to study in the proper fashion the society in which we live and work and to reveal the law-governed patterns inherent in it. In studies of social activeness, the author notes, the social sciences must be undeviatingly guided by revolutionary theory and should boldly apply Marxist-Leninist methodology to the scientific quest (page 350). The range of problems of mature socialism should be a main direction in the development of the social sciences. The duty of the Soviet social scientist is to respond keenly and currently to the latest processes and phenomena of life, generalize and analyze them, and overcome any kind of commonplace, sketchiness and political theorizing.

A creative approach to the key problems of science and the application of Marxist-Leninist theory is characteristic of the entire book. Take, for example, the question of contradictions. "Today," writes comrade K.U. Chernenko, "in our social sciences the opinion has hardened that contradictions are not something alien to socialism, but they do differ in a fundamental way from the antagonisms in bourgeois society and they are all resolvable. However, it must be said directly that we must go beyond this truth, which is obvious for creative Marxism. Our social sciences are called upon to study questions of paramount theoretical and practical significance, such as the nature and kinds of contradictions typical of the present stage in the development of Soviet society, their origin from objective and subjective factors, without trying, as they sometimes have, to smother all the difficulties and negative phenomena to 'vestiges of the past' in people's consciousness. Comprehensive theoretical analysis of these problems helps the party to comprehend more deeply the economy, social relations, various growing risks to contradictions, and to overcome them effectively and in a timely fashion" (page 280).

The author gives much attention to the very important problem of party activity in combining scientific activities with the workers' movement and with practical work in the building of socialism and communism. Has this task been resolved today? It is shown convincingly in the book that both the process of perfecting developed socialist society and its perfected transformation into a communist society do not occur by themselves, automatically. They are achieved only as the result of the conscious creativity of the working class in alliance with all the workers. To neglect this becomes a conviction, organization and conscious discipline and shall not have an illusion, namely, is an unfounded dream. Accordingly, combining scientific socialism with the workers' movement under the leadership of developed socialism is also regarded by the party as a most important (theoretical, economic, political, organizational and indoctrination task. One of the articles is devoted toward the formation

in workers of a will, readiness and ability to participate creatively in the building of communism, and a clear understanding of the tasks facing Soviet society and ways in which they can be resolved, and how they find their own place in this process. This work is also of great importance because life brings forth new generations of people who must take possession of the ideological-political and moral experience of preceding generations of those fighting for socialism and communism, and to meld received knowledge into profound inner convictions and an active position in life. And this is not an educational task but a political task.

This kind of work, the author notes, also retains its topicality because the attacks of the class enemy are increasing against the ideological and moral values of socialism, and attempts to exert a demoralizing effect on the consciousness of the populations of the socialist countries are becoming more refined.

Comrade K.U. Chernenko points out that combining socialism with the workers' movement cannot be understood as a one-time act, because scientific socialism is not some code of immutable truths suitable for use in all the events of life, but a teaching that is always alive and developing. It is being continually checked and enriched through practice and the collective theoretical thinking of the party. It is not some purely mechanical combining of theory and practice in the building of socialism that takes place, but an active mutual penetration and interaction (page 232).

Pointing to the need for a creative attitude toward the ideological-theoretical legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the author notes that the experience of revolutionary struggle and of the building of socialism and communism teaches [us] to act decisively against dogmatism and against the facile application of ready-made schemes and stereotypes. "Lenin emphasizes that Marxism is not dogma but leadership to action. Leninism is not dogma, but leadership to action: so say the pupils of Lenin. To be true to Lenin means to be imbued with the creative initiative that permeated both the theoretical and practical activity of our party's founder. To be true to Lenin means to struggle decisively against any attempts at distortion of our revolutionary teaching, whether it comes from the right or from the 'left'" (page 226).

During the process of preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress our party must consider the major theoretical problems. In his speech to the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee commission appointed to prepare a new edition of the CPSU Program, comrade K.U. Chernenko pointed to these very important questions. They include, first and foremost, a determination of the degree of socioeconomic maturity achieved in the new society. It is essential to provide a realistic, comprehensive and carefully weighed characterization of developed socialism. "In party documents of recent years," he stressed, "the fundamentally important conclusion has been drawn that we find ourselves at the start of a long meridian historically, namely the stage of developed socialism. It is this that determines the essence of the long-term tasks for both the party and the people. The [CPSU] Program should be a program of perfecting developed socialism" (page 455).

In work on the new edition of the program the party central committee is laying the emphasis on the fact that analysis of the features our development and

of world development serves as a basis for bold theoretical conclusions, enriching Marxism-Leninism and providing a reliable scientific basis for the party's strategic decisions and its practical work in the years immediately ahead and for the long term (pages 403-404).

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The party of Lenin has been placed by history itself in the vanguard of the popular masses. It was precisely the party that turned out to be capable of "leading the entire people to socialism, of guiding and organizing the new order, and of being the teacher, leader and guide for all the workers and those exploited, in the cause of building their own public life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."*

It is noted in the book that as a result of the most profound socioeconomic and spiritual transformations accomplished under the leadership of the party, in our country a developed socialist society has been built and the process of comprehensive and planned improvement is underway, as a result of which the gradual advance to communism is also taking place.

The more complex the tasks that the CPSU must resolve, the more its political role increases as the leader of the Soviet people. And here, too, party leadership in all spheres of our society becomes more profound in content and varied in its forms and methods. The author convincingly shows that the fighting capacity of the party depends directly on the style and methods of its work. One theme that runs through the book is Leninist principles and methods of activity and the Leninist style in party leadership as an effective tool for our party and a characteristic feature of its political lineament.

In all its activity the CPSU proceeds from the premise that the people are the decisive force and true creator of history. It would be naive to suggest that the new society can be built only by the hands of the communists. The party constantly takes counsel with the masses and listens keenly to public opinion and tries to achieve a situation in which all state and public organs take into account in their work the proposals, wishes and criticisms of the workers. This can be seen in the practice of national discussions of the draft plans for the economic and social development of the country and other important laws and decisions. National discussions merge into a demonstration of the unity and cohesion of the Soviet people around the party of Lenin. The most powerful source of the gigantic successes of our party, comrade K.U. Chernenko notes, is precisely that it makes use of the enormous experience and practical work of the multimillion-strong masses of workers and their collective reason, and that it always relies on the masses and their revolutionary energy, creative activeness and independence.

In our time the core activity of the party is to raise the level of political leadership and concentrate organizational activity directly in the labor collectives. It is shown in the book extensively and specifically that the

* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 33, p 26.

political nature of party leadership is manifest in its defense of the vital of the working class and all people of labor, in guaranteeing the leading role of the working class in socialist society, and concern for enhancing the political and ideological maturity and the sense of organization and activeness in all workers. The political nature of party leadership is clearly manifest in the entire complex of measures aimed at strengthening the alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia and friendship between all nations and nationalities, and in consolidating the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society.

Questions of the unity of the party and the people are dealt with profoundly and comprehensively in the works of comrade K.L. Chernenko, and it is shown in a well-argued fashion that this unity rests upon the common character of their goals and the constant concern of the CPSU for the interests of the workers. "The basis of work in the proper political course," it states in the book, "is considering the interests of each class, each stratum of Soviet society, and the ability to correctly combine them with the vital, common interests of the entire people and with our communist goals and ideals, and the ability to determine an optimal path for their realizations" (page 257). Since it is the vanguard of the entire people, in terms of its class essence and of its program aims, ideology and policy, and in terms of the role that the workers play in the CPSU, the party has been and remains the party of the working class, loyal to the glorious traditions of Bolshevism.

V.I. Lenin laid strict demands upon communists. It is essential, Lenin taught, to purge the party of immature, casual, careerist elements so that the party masses can see that party members have an obligation first and foremost to accept people into their ranks not so that they can take advantage of any benefits or privileges but so that they can show an example of conscientiousness and crystal-clear honesty, and selflessness in labor for the good of the socialist motherland.

These demands of Lenin fully reflect what Lenin himself said also. "We shall not forget even for a moment," the author writes, "that in representing the people each communist must act as bearer of the high ideological and moral qualities inherent in the party. In him are always mirrored the great trust and authority that the party of Lenin has achieved in its affairs among the masses, and its abiding concern for the needs and interests of the people of labor" (page 248).

To a large extent people judge the party as a whole from the actions and deeds of individual communists. Consequently, to be a member of the CPSU is not only an honor but also a responsibility. It is essential to approach with greater exactingness the selection, training and indoctrination of cadres and, as Lenin taught, to reinforce their ranks with truly the best elements of our society, with those "for whom it can be guaranteed that they will never take things on trust and will never speak out against their own conscience."*

* V.I. Lenin. *Complete Collected Works*, Vol. 40, p. 371.

It is noted in the book that the authority of a communist is not achieved through rank, position, previous merit or fine phrases. Selflessness and a sense of principle, clarity of political thought and an acute sense of what is new, the highest exactingness toward himself and toward others, sensitivity, modesty, and simplicity in behavior and in everyday life--this is how a communist should be, whether he is a rank-and-file party member or a leader (page 249).

In recent years the party has done much work to improve the qualitative makeup of cadres in the party organizations and in state, economic and other organs. The party proceeds from the premise that "the essence of leadership and its decisive element is, as is known, the selection, placement and indoctrination of cadres, and also control and checking the implementation of adopted decisions" (page 263).

All this demands constant improvement in the party's cadre policy and the mastery of political methods in the management of the socioeconomic and spiritual processes in society by party and other workers. Here the party pays particular attention to the young and growing cadres that represent the reliable succession for the present generation. This is why in work with cadres a multifaceted approach is important, when those who put forward a person for a responsible post not only consider his service record but also weigh his concrete deeds and are interested in the opinion of the collective.

Experience gained in cadre policy shows that in selecting new workers it is essential to weight comprehensively people's political, business and moral qualities. Here great importance is laid on advancing comrades who, in addition to having appropriate political and special training and the ability to work with people, have a rich experience at life, who have been "cooked in the workers' pot," as we say, and who have been through the school of life, the school of practical work among the masses and have a deep understanding of people's needs and interests.

"Cadres," comrade K.U. Chernenko emphasizes, "are truly the solid reserve of the party and state. And they require constant replenishment and an inflow of fresh forces... As at no other time, in work with cadres a clear-cut and well-thought-out system is important. There is no room here either for partial replacement or any kind of ossification of the cadre makeup" (page 446).

In work with cadres the party organizations pay a great deal of attention to instilling in them a creative approach to matters. Life convinces [us] that it is not enough for a leader of any rank merely to be a good executor. "Success in full measure," the author writes, "comes only to him who displays creative initiative and socialist enterprise, who seeks constantly for new possibilities to improve matters, and who enhances the efficiency and quality not only of his own work but also the labor of others" (page 265).

The author emphasizes that to approach work in a creative and Leninist manner means to be able to see in any matter, large or small, what is most important and to sweep aside all that is immaterial and obsolete. To feel with precision the pulse of modern life, to make use of advanced experiences, to master the latest data from science, to see the prospects for development: here lies

the guarantee of a leader's success. What distinguishes the creative worker constantly striving to find new reserves and new opportunities for the most effective resolution to a task, is that noble sense of inner dissatisfaction with what has been achieved. Essentially, without this kind of dissatisfaction there can be no creativity, no successful movement ahead.

The party central committee has raised in all its acuteness the question of a more precise delineation of the functions of party committees and state and economic organs, eliminating duplication in their work. This major question of political significance is noted in the book. "The practice of substituting economic leaders," says comrade K.U. Chernenko, "dampens cadre ardor. Moreover, it contains within itself the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as an organ of political leadership. For party committees, being involved in management means first and foremost to be involved with the people who manage the economy. This should always be remembered" (page 416).

Making bold use of the means and forms by which they exert their influence, the party committees are called upon to apply what are essentially their very own methods of conviction, to avoid any kind of replacement of soviet and economic organs, to organize the fulfillment of tasks through them, the committees, and enhance the responsibility of cadres and mobilize the masses to the implementation of adopted decisions.

The book reviews deeply and analytically the ways and forms for further developing socialist democracy, broadly recruiting conscientious and politically mature citizens to the management of state affairs, and increasing the scales of and enhancing effectiveness in the work of the soviets of working people's deputies--the organs of true popular power. The party concerns itself tirelessly with enhancing the role of the soviets at all levels in resolving the varied economic and sociopolitical tasks, taking into account the fact that they have enormous potential for improving their activity. It is noted in the book that the main all-party task in leadership of the soviets is "that their constitutionally confirmed powers always and everywhere find expression both in the content and the style of their activity" (page 439).

The author underscores the need to use all methods of party influence on the activity of the soviets in order to enhance its effectiveness and eliminate any elements of formalism. Here, much can be done by communist deputies, through which the party also exercises its leading role in the soviets. They are called upon to introduce into the work of the soviets a sense of organization and to gather around themselves the elected represents of the people and stimulate and guide their creative initiative.

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The main sphere in the creative activity of the Soviet people is the socialist economy. Soviet people are answering with selfless labor the call from the CPSU to struggle tenaciously to improve the economic effectiveness of the national economy, to stretch themselves, and to work to the full measure of their strength to insure the unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist pledges. Success here is insured by a sense of organization, the further strengthening of discipline and support for popular

initiatives and the creative enterprise of the labor collectives. "The question of organization and order is for us a key question, a question of principle," comrade K.U. Cherenenko stressed at the CPSU Central Committee February (1984) Plenum. "There can be no two opinions on this. Any kind of slovenliness or irresponsibility not only results in material losses for society. It causes serious social and moral harm... And it is a completely law-governed pattern that measures taken by the party to enhance labor, production, planning and state discipline and to strengthen socialist legality have met with the full approval of all the people" (page 417).

The course toward an intensive and more efficient development of the economy, the development of scientific and technical progress, and steady growth in labor productivity is being pursued more purposefully and more fruitfully than heretofore. During the present five-year plan it is planned to use almost one-third of capital investments for the renewal of existing enterprises. Is this much or little? Obviously reconstruction can and must be carried out on broader scales. It was precisely to this that comrade K.U. Cherenenko drew attention at his meeting with metallurgists in Moscow. "At the present stage," he said, "special significance attaches to retooling the sectors and introducing the latest achievements of science and advanced experience. This is the urgent demand of the time, the call of the age, so to speak. It is also urgent because, given the present demographic situation, we cannot count on the kind of inflow of manpower that we had previously" (page 462).

Reconstruction enables the resolution of a minimum of two major problems. First, it is possible to equip an enterprise with the latest word in equipment, eliminate bottlenecks and effect comprehensive mechanization and automation of production. And second, with the aid of reconstruction socioeconomic problems can be solved just as successfully: creating conditions for safe and productive labor, eliminating the differences between physical and mental labor, increasing wages and improving the environment.

Under present conditions, given the enormous scales of our production, great significance attaches to a zealous and thrifty management of the economy, including the thrifty, rational utilization of material resources. Much is being done to solve this problem but by no means all opportunities are being used. "Enough of the right words have been said about the need to save metal, fuel, energy and all the other resources," the author notes. "But they have by no means always been underpinned with concrete deeds. Only initiative and everyone's personal contribution, from worker to director, in pursuing a course toward strengthening the regime of thrift everywhere and in everything will yield tangible results" (page 464).

The party has always considered that consistent improvement in the life of the Soviet people is its general line; and it still does. In this field a broad program is being implemented. The following facts are cited in comrade K.U. Cherenenko's book. Since the early Seventies alone real per capita incomes have grown by a factor of more than 1.5. In 1983 the average monthly wage in the economy was R182. And highly skilled workers were receiving an average of R250-300 a month and more.

Now, every 4 years more housing is built in our country than was built during the entire prewar period. Every 5 years living conditions are improved for more than 50 million people.

The output of consumer goods is increasing and the services sphere is being expanded.

The incomes of rural workers are growing. The Food Program is beginning to yield results (see page 467).

At the same time, the author stresses that much work remains to be done to improve supplies of foodstuffs for the population and to improve the quality of consumer goods.

And given all this, it is important to take into account the fact that the main growth in the well-being of the Soviet people is a conscientious, honest attitude on the part of each person toward labor. The party calls for no weakening of control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. Any violation of this principle does our society great material and moral harm. "The very basis of the Soviet system," the author notes, "is socialist fairness. And herein lies its great strength. This is why it is so important that it is strictly observed in everyday affairs and whenever it is a question of wages and bonuses, the allocation of apartments or authorizations for travel, or rewards; in short, so that everything is done fairly, according to the labor contribution of each person in our society" (page 417).

In the book a well-based argument is presented on the important proposition that to build socialism and perfect it is not only to construct modern factories and power stations and beautify our land and the cities and countryside, but at the same time to do everything to elevate people ideologically and morally and to form in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The author stresses that "the formation of the New Man is not only a most important goal but also an indispensable condition for the building of communism" (page 345).

The urgent problem of educating the New Man was the focus of attention at the Central Committee June (1983) Plenum. At this plenum the party put forward the concept of ideological activity having long-term significance. The plenum decisions provided a powerful stimulus for the improvement of ideological-indoctrination and mass political work in all its directions. The time that separates us from its work has shown convincingly that practical implementation of the plenum instructions is favorably affecting the sociopolitical and spiritual and moral atmosphere in the country and raising all ideological activity to the level of the major and complex tasks that the party and the people are resolving in perfecting developed socialism.

Only the first steps have been taken in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, ahead there lies much prolonged and persistent and extraordinarily crucial work in which formalism and the pursuit of "the big figure" are decisively contraindicated. "All ideological activity," it states in the book, "should everywhere promote affirmation of the Leninist style of work--a style of businesslike, creative and innovative work permeated

with a high sense of ideology, and an uncompromising attitude toward everything that is stagnant or contradicts the norms of socialist morals and the collective way of life" (page 347). Here, aspects of the Leninist style of work such as enhancing personal responsibility among cadres, strengthening discipline, a self-critical approach to evaluating the results of labor, a businesslike attitude, control and the checking of execution are moved to the forefront.

Effectiveness and success in ideological indoctrination are insured when they rest on the firm foundation of socioeconomic policy. And the party cadres doing ideological work should have a good knowledge of the socioeconomic factors that affect people's moods and behavior, and they should link mass political work more closely with the struggle to fulfill national economic and sociopolitical tasks.

"The main thing," the author notes, "is to transfer the center of ideological efforts into the labor collective and the primary party organization. It is essential to renounce once and for all the inertia that still exists, when all activity is sometimes locked within the framework of the very ideological administrations themselves and is replaced with the compilation of verbose papers and interminable meetings" (page 469).

One key task in the communist indoctrination of all Soviet people, and first and foremost the rising generation, is the shaping of an elevated world-outlook and moral-and-political standard and strong immunity against bourgeois ideology and any form of the philistine-consumerist mentality, and against violations of the norms of socialist communal living. One very important political thought in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum is that of bringing into play all the creative forces inherent in the labor and public activities of the masses. The tasks set by this plenum cover all aspects in the life of our society—the development of production forces, improving production relations, and changes in the social, political and spiritual spheres.

Problems of training the rising generation are reviewed in the book on the broadest plane, from the patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of youth to its training for socially useful labor. "We are constantly concerned," comrade K.U. Chernenko emphasizes, "that we train a youth that does not shake and bend under the weight of the historic responsibility for the fate of the country and for the fate of socialism and peace; the kind of youth that would be able not only to master the experience of the older generations but also enrich it with its own accomplishments" (page 16).

Much has been done in our country to develop education, science and culture. But in order to make Soviet society advance with confidence to our great goals, it emphasizes in the book, each new generation must be raised up to a higher level of education and general culture, professional skills and civic activeness (see page 443). It is precisely this that is promoted by the "Main Directions in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational School," approved by the CPSU Central Committee April (1984) Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet first session, 11th convocation. Implementing the reform will make it possible to insure that students master deeply the basics of science and that a firm

communist conviction is shaped in them, together with a love of labor and moral purity, and that they are indoctrinated in a spirit of love for our socialist, multinational motherland and readiness to defend it, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

"The closer we bring the school to production," comrade K.U. Chernenko notes, "the more substantial the return from the reform. The return is educational and political. Soviet youth must enter its independent life highly cultured, educated and loving labor. And no matter what our children become--workers or agronomists, scientists or engineers--they should receive a class tempering in the labor collectives" (page 444).

In the works of comrade K.U. Chernenko the task is raised of opposing more effectively the penetration of hostile ideology. It points out in the book that the main thing in work in the entire system of counterpropaganda is "the graphic revealing of the advantages of the Soviet way of life, the deep convincing unmasking of the rotten 'values' of the bourgeois consciousness, concrete analysis of propaganda hostile to socialism, and the elaboration and coordination of preventive counterpropaganda measures" (pages 391-392). In this connection the need is underscored for strengthening work with specific groups of the population, such as believers. The numerous ideological centers of imperialism are striving not only to support but also to sow religiosity and to impart to it an anti-Soviet, nationalistic flavor. A special stake is being made on religious extremists (see page 368).

The speeches and articles of comrade K.U. Chernenko contain a profound illumination of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and Soviet government. They justify the need to protect and strengthen the unity of the countries of the socialist community, fraternal solidarity with communist and workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism. This was again demonstrated with particular force at the summit-level Moscow Economic Conference of the CEMA member countries. It is convincingly shown in the book that under present conditions Lenin's peace strategy meets the vital interests of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind. In the present complicated and extremely tense international situation our party and the Soviet government are doing everything possible to safeguard and strengthen peace and save mankind from nuclear war. "At the same time," comrade K.U. Chernenko said at his meeting with metallurgists in Moscow, "it is understood that not everything depends on our good will. And in politics we believe only in deeds, not words. Reducing arms means a really mutual reduction. The liquidation of nuclear weapons means real liquidation on both sides. If the United States and NATO do this, we shall not hold things up" (page 470).

The Soviet Union acts in the world arena under the banner of proletarian, socialist internationalism, together with its reliable allies--the countries of the socialist community. In the struggle for a future of peace and progress for mankind Soviet communists march hand in hand with their millions of class brothers and with the numerous detachments of the world communist and workers' movement. The land of the soviets stands in solidarity with the peoples who

have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and set out on the road of freedom and independent development, particularly with those who have had to repulse attacks from the aggressive forces of imperialism.

The Soviet people are unswervingly loyal to the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, as bequeathed by the great Lenin. At the same time the USSR decisively rebuffs the reckless actions of imperialist forces and their attempts to upset the military balance that has been achieved in the world, and is concerned to strengthen its own defensive capability so that we will have adequate means to cool the hot heads of the belligerent adventurists. As a great socialist power the Soviet Union fully recognizes its responsibility to the peoples to maintain and strengthen peace.

Comrade K.U. Chernenko notes that "the Soviet people are profoundly convinced that peace must be maintained. It is possible to turn back the development of events from confrontation to relaxation. We are ready for dialogue, ready to cooperate actively with those governments and organizations that want to work honestly and constructively for peace.

"But while military and political tension prevail, while the nuclear-missile danger from the United States and the NATO states hangs over our country, it is necessary to keep our powder dry and always be on guard to prevent a change in the balance of power in favor of imperialism and to prevent ourselves from being made weaker...

"The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government understand their very great responsibility to the people. June 1941 will not be repeated! Immediate retribution will overtake any aggressor. Let everyone know this--both our friends and those who are not our friends" (page 470).

The Soviet people have boundless faith in their own communist party and they actively support its domestic and foreign policy. The party has earned this trust and strengthened it through its selfless service to the people. In the party they see, to use Lenin's words, "the mind, honor and conscience of our age."*

* * * * *

The publication of the book "The People and the Party Are One" by CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium comrade K.U. Chernenko is an important event in the ideological-political life of our party and all of Soviet society. The propositions and conclusions formulated in it deeply enrich the experience gained in the multifaceted activity of the CPSU and the Soviet people over a period covering almost a decade. They make a major contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism and to the elaboration of theoretical and practical questions in party and state construction and the scientific strategy of developed socialism. The book has been greeted with great interest by all the Soviet public and by broad circles of international progressive forces.

* V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 34, p 93.

REGIONAL

VAYNO RECEIVES ORDER OF LENIN

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Sep 84 p 1

[Article: "Presentation of a High Honor"]

[Text] On 23 September, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the USSR Committee on State Security V. M. Chebrikov presented the Order of Lenin to First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party K. G. Vayno.

In his speech during the presentation of the high honor, comrade V. M. Chebrikov said: "Dear Karl Genrikhovich! It gives me sincere satisfaction to fulfill the assignment of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government in presenting you with our Homeland's high honor -- the Order of Lenin -- which you have earned for your services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and in connection with your 60th birthday.

This high honor marks your contribution to ensuring the labor achievements of Communists and all the workers of Soviet Estonia. The remarkable achievements of the republic in economic and cultural development are the result of the political course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has continually implemented Leninist national policy. They have been achieved by the selfless labor of the Estonian people under the management of the republic's Communist Party and with the fraternal aid and support of all the peoples of our multinational Homeland. All this has been convincingly demonstrated by the celebrations devoted to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Soviet Estonia from the German-fascist aggressors.

Here, in Estonia, you, my dear Karl Genrikhovich, grew up as a party and state worker. Having started work as a technician on the Estonian railroad, you have travelled the long and glorious path of the party and soviet manager. Having served since 1947 in various crucial sectors of party and soviet work, you have honorably fulfilled and are continuing to fulfill the tasks of the party and the government.

I can note with full satisfaction that in your 6 years of work in the position of First Secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, you have shown all the necessary quality of a Communist manager. With untiring persistence

and clearness of purpose, you are performing great organizational and political work on the implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and directives of the Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade K. U. Chernenko.

We all know very well how much energy, will and Bolshevik passion you give to the cause of the improvement and flourishing of Soviet Estonia and to increasing the richness and might of our entire socialist Homeland. A devout communist who sets high requirements for himself and others, you do much to solve the problems which have arisen and to eliminate the present shortcomings.

I would like to say that the chief guarantee in the successful work of our party's management personnel have always been: firmness and principle in implementing the policies of the Leninist Communist Party, a close connection with the workers, and a good knowledge of their thoughts and aspirations. This is what determines also the achievements which you, Karl Genrikhovich, have attained and which are noted by this deserved honor.

Allow me, in the name of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government, to heartily congratulate you on this high honor and to wish you, dear Karl Genrikhovich, good health and happiness, a fighting spirit, and further active work toward the good of our great Homeland."

Comrade V. M. Chebrikov read the Directive of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on awarding the Order of Lenin to comrade K. G. Vayno and presented the Order to the recipient.

In his response, comrade K. G. Vayno expressed his deep gratitude to the party Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the USSR Council of Ministers and to Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko personally for the great honor bestowed upon him.

"Of course, we all work without thinking of rewards, not for their sake. However, when your labor is highly acknowledged--this cannot help but excite one," said comrade K. G. Vayno. "I have always viewed my work as a part of the huge transforming activity of our entire party, in whose ranks I have served for 37 years. However, when one thinks how many important matters lie ahead, how much more still remains to be done, one accepts the award to a considerable degree as an advance.

Today in our country and in our party under the leadership of the Central Committee Politburo, a matter-of-fact and creative style of work is being ratified. This helps us to achieve new successes in economic and cultural construction.

We have perceived the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On the Participation of the Management Personnel of the Estonian SSR in the Political-Executive Work Among the Laborers" as a manifestation of great attention and concern by the party Central Committee for our republic party organization and for the matters of our republic. We are already using this deep and basic document in our everyday work.

Today, accepting the award of my Homeland, I am well aware that it rightly belongs also to all communists and workers of Soviet Estonia who work inspiredly on fulfilling the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. I also credit this award in full measure to the members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and to the entire party, soviet and economic active membership of the republic."

In conclusion, comrade K. G. Vayno assured the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo that he would continue to have no greater interests in life than the interests of the party, the good of the people, and the flourishing of our country.

He heartily thanked comrade V. M. Chebrikov for the kind words addressed to him.

Present at the awards ceremony were comrades N. P. Ganyushov, A. I. Kudryavtsev, F. A. Kyao, L. N. Lentsman, O. O. Merimaa, R. E. Ristlaan, A. F. Ryuytel', B. E. Saul, A.-B. I. Upsi, N. O. Yuganson, M. A. Pedak, I. Kh. Toome, L. D. Shishov and heads of delegations who came to the celebration dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Estonian SSR from the fascist aggressors and the ceremony of awarding the city of Tallinn the Order of the Patriotic War, I degree. They warmly and heartily congratulated the recipient.

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REGIONAL

GAPUROV PLENUM SPEECH ON KOMSOMOL ROLE IN INDOCTRINATION

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Report by M. G. Gapurov at the 18th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee: "For the Komsomol--The Party's Concern"]

[Text] As reported, the 18th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee was held on 17 September. A report titled "Tasks of the republic party organization as given in the CPSU Central Committee decree 'Further improving party leadership of the Komsomol and increasing its role in the communist indoctrination of young people's and the speeches of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade K. U. Chernenko on issues of the party's work with young people" was given by M. G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

In a Leninist fashion, the Communist Party is bringing care and exactingness to the cultivation of its replacement shift, arming the Komsomol with the knowledge and experience of older generations. The latest manifestation of the party's extremely great attention to the Komsomol and the young people of the Soviet Union is the recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "Further improving party leadership of the Komsomol and increasing its role in the communist indoctrination of young people."

The CPSU Central Committee decree and speeches given by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and at an all-army conference of secretaries of Komsomol organizations are a valuable program of the party's work to indoctrinate the young generation of builders and defenders of our society and improve the leadership of the Komsomol. Creatively developing Leninist traditions in party leadership, it embraces all spheres of activity of the Komsomol.

The communists, Komsomol members, and working people of Turkmenistan, like the entire country, greeted with great approval the CPSU Central Committee decree and speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko on questions of the party's work with young people.

Today the Turkmen Komsomol unites in its ranks more than 545,000 young men and women, over half of whom are workers and kolkhoz members.

Comrade M. G. Gapurov went on to observe that the main sphere of application for young people's creative powers, their front of action, is participation in developing the economy of the republic.

Komsomol organizations have broadly developed the patriotic movement of Komsomol members and young people "For the five-year period--shock work, knowledge, initiative, and the creativity of young people." About 2000 young rationalizers take part every year in reviews of young people's scientific-technical creativity.

The role of Komsomol members and young people in resolving social issues is growing. The contribution of Komsomol members is also indisputable in the republic economy's achieved savings of raw-materials resources, and in strengthening labor discipline.

Komsomol members and young people are broadly represented in all links of soviets of people's deputies.

Some 29,000 young men and women are members of elected trade union organs and other social organizations.

Today, now that we have come to the extremely responsible boundary of the five-year period and scant weeks remain before the jubilee of the republic and the Turkmen Communist Party, it is particularly important for party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations to still more energetically develop and support in every young collective an atmosphere of shock working, and concentrate the forces of young men and women on unresolved issues, and we still have many of these.

We must resolutely reinforce the work to intensify labor. The republic is implementing a goal-oriented, comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress, and continuing to develop it until 2010. It includes a broad circle of measures to mechanize and automate all sectors of the economy, which will make it possible to substantially boost labor productivity and the volume of industrial production.

Comrade M. G. Gapurov emphasized that successful resolution of the tasks ahead will be determined by coordinated action of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs, and by the efforts of labor collectives. Important significance attaches to raising the organization and discipline of young workers and kolkhoz members, who make up two thirds of the working people involved in the economy. "Only through politically conscious and disciplined labor along with the workers and peasants," pointed out V. I. Lenin, "can we become true communists."

The Central Committee of the Komsomol and local Komsomol committees must keep these issues constantly at the center of attention, and develop in young people an organic need for socially useful labor, mastery of current knowledge, technology, and economic methods of management, as well as intolerance for disorder and idleness. Komsomol organizations should ensure the concrete participation of each Komsomol member in the work to raise the shift coefficient, utilize equipment, and fulfill contract deliveries. Also to inculcate in young people a sense of responsibility for rational use of raw materials and stocks in each work place.

Fixed attention must now be given to these questions by party organizations and economic leaders. Unfortunately, the proper concern for young people is not always manifested in all places--neither in words nor deeds.

Party organizations should devote more attention to matters of establishing young people in production, increase the role of party groups and lower links of labor collectives in this work, and entrust the indoctrination of the new shift of workers to people who are well trained, authoritative, and possess high professional and moral qualities.

It is necessary constantly to develop and improve forms of working with young people such as tutorship.

But trade union and Komsomol organizations, particularly enterprises of consumer service, agriculture, land reclamation and water resources, fruit and vegetable industry, the industry of construction materials, public services, the State Committee for Agricultural Technology, and Glavkarakumstroy, have not worked out measures for providing moral and material incentives to mentors, nor is there a well-adjusted system in their training. Many soviets of mentors are inactive; they are not being given practical aid. There must be a more strict demand for this on the part of party raykoms and gorkoms, and trade union organs.

Some party committees, trade union organizations, and economic leaders are still doing an inadequate job to develop the efforts of young people to collective forms of labor, and are not fully utilizing the possibilities of Komsomol-youth brigades.

In Krasnovodsk Oblast, in the leading sector of agriculture--livestock breeding--there are about a thousand brigades, but only 89 of them are Komsomol-youth brigades.

To see that there is not one lagging Komsomol-youth collective--that is the task of each Komsomol committee.

The CPSU Central Committee gave a pointed and principled formulation of the need to do away with a formalistic-bureaucratic attitude toward shock-working Komsomol building sites and ensure that each of them is a true school of shock work for young men and women.

This requires that party and trade union organizations, and economic leaders, increase their attention to the formulation of the labor collective of building sites, and creating there a moral-psychological climate which ensures the conditions for the civic maturation of young laborers and for their becoming mature specialists.

Local party committees must bring under their control the work of Komsomol organizations to form contingents of young livestock farmers in our republic and thus ensure a substantial contribution from young people in the development of livestock farming.

The rural Komsomol must seriously undertake the organization of sponsorship of lagging livestock farming facilities. If each rayon uses the efforts of young people to bring order to one or two lagging farms, this will be concrete help in implementing the Food Program.

The draft of the plan for 1985-1990 and the period up to 2000 calls for significantly increasing the rate of growth of production volumes, relying on increasing growth rates of labor productivity.

Construction is continuing on the Karakum Canal, as well as the opening up of lands in this zone. It remains to set new, higher boundaries for the Food Program.

Plans call for growth of volumes of capital construction, especially in connection with assimilating gas deposits, developing the city of Ashkhabad, and constructing enterprises of chemistry, a base of building industry, a large electrode plant in Tashauz, and other enterprises.

The implementation of these large-scale tasks, said Comrade M. G. Gapurov, demands accelerated training of qualified cadres, especially of young people. Beginning in 1985, we will have to include in production over 70,000 young men and women. The object of our general concern should be to give them help in mastering professions and forming the lofty qualities of a working person.

The republic has positive experience of the joint work of Nebit-Daga Secondary School No 1 and the Nebit-Daga Administration of Drilling Operations of the Turkmenneft' Association in career orientation and labor training of school children, which is approved by the Bureau of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. Just as significant is the experience of Sakarskiy Rayon Secondary School No 1, directed by USSR People's Teacher Comrade Kh. B. Bordzhakov. But party committees, ispolkoms, and the Ministry of Education and its local organs have not taken effective measures to adopt this experience in the practice of all schools and labor collectives.

An excellent form of educating future specialists is student construction contingents.

Party committees, Komsomol committees, and leaders of ministries and departments must take effective measures to eliminate the existing shortcomings in the labor education of students.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko emphasizes that in Komsomol work today, one of the most serious issues is the problem of so-called small jobs, from which appreciable results grow. Young people have many such everyday and necessary jobs.

The repair of children's homes and cultural establishments, the construction of the simplest sports facilities and children's playing fields--all of these should be done by the hands of young people. There are also many other spheres for applying the labor of young people.

Party organizations are required to raise the responsibility of Komsomol members and young people for carrying out their basic obligations to society--to labor conscientiously in the name of strengthening the might of our Motherland.

The complex economic, social-political, and educational problems which must be resolved by generations of the builders of communism require, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, great organization, profound ideological conviction, and moral purity. Under conditions of the mass "crusade" against communism led by the imperialists of the United States and the exacerbation of the ideological struggle, Lenin's demands resound urgently even today.

Party committees and ideological establishments of the republic are consistently supporting education and propaganda work among young people at the level of current requirements, and teaching them to master Marxist-Leninist theory in a creative fashion, work out a class approach to phenomena of social life, and be ideologically sound and committed to the party's cause.

A special place in this regard belongs to the system of Komsomol political education. The best propagandistic forces are being drawn into its work.

An important party task is the inculcation of true socialist culture in young people. This goal must be the aim of the content of all mass cultural work, in particular, amateur arts activities and holidays of songs, poetry, music, and theater for children and youth, which are becoming more and more traditional for us.

Professional and amateur vocal-instrumental ensembles and discoteques have become widespread in the republic. But the ideological and artistic level has serious shortcomings, which are the result of poor control over the work of these collectives, the selection of leaders, and the indoctrinational work in them.

In inculcating high culture in young people, a great role belongs to creative organizations. Literary figures, composers, artists, and workers in the theater and cinema must give more attention to youth themes, more vividly depict the remarkable qualities of the modern young person, and create works of a high ideological and artistic level. The work with creative youth is in need of serious improvement.

Party and Komsomol organizations, and economic leaders, must study constantly the processes taking place in the youth scene, and understand and purposefully shape the moods, interests, and needs of young people.

A glorious jubilee is approaching--the 60th anniversary of the Turkmen SSR and the Turkmen Communist Party, and the 100th anniversary of Turkmenistan's voluntary joining of Russia. The preparation for and celebration of this great holiday must be made the most of in order that our people, especially young people, come to a deep understanding that the Turkmen people are obligated for their unprecedented flight to the heights of modern socialist civilization most of all to the victory of Great October, the Leninist party, and the fraternal aid of all peoples of our Motherland, especially our older brother the great Russian people, who accomplished the internationalistic feat in the name of the fraternal unity of the peoples of our country and securing their economic and cultural flowering. Preparation for the celebration of the jubilee must be accompanied by intensification of all work in the internationalist indoctrination of the working people, especially young people.

The work being done by Komsomol and youth organizations to immortalize the memory of the heroes who died in the battles for the freedom and independence of our socialist Motherland deserves all possible support. Komsomol and Pioneer sponsorship of veterans of the building of socialism in our country, war invalids, and the families of slain soldiers should be further developed.

To further strengthen young people's military-patriotic education, party and soviet organs and Komsomol organizations of the republic must make more active use of the preparations for and celebration of a famous date in the history of our Motherland--the 40th anniversary of the soviet people's victory in the Great October War.

The current international situation demands that young men who are educated, physically strong, politically and morally stable, and prepared for martial labor and the defense of their Motherland go into military service. Komsomol organizations should constantly guide this.

Questions of training young people to defend the socialist Fatherland are closely related to the task of improving the physical condition of youth. Our time has seen an increase in the number of young people who participate in physical culture and sports, and also of holders of the "Prepared for the Labor and Defense of the USSR" badge. Lower collectives of physical culture have been organizationally strengthened.

At the same time, the Turkmen Sports Committee and the voluntary sports societies Zakhmet and Kolkhozchi are still not investigating deeply the state of affairs; they are not restructuring their endeavors to raise the level of mass physical-culture work in enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, educational institutions, and places of residence.

Trade union sports societies and the Turkmen Council of Trade Unions are not studying the practice of goal-oriented use of graduates of the institute of physical culture.

Comrade M. G. Gapurov mentioned the practice of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations in guiding the Komsomol. They are consistently implementing measures to strengthen the party nucleus in the Komsomol and raising their demands on communists working in Komsomol organizations, who form the main reserve for filling the ranks of the party. The qualitative make-up of Komsomol leadership cadres is being improved.

The Nebit-Daga Gorkom, and Oktyabrskiy, Sakarskiy, Khalachskiy, and several other party raykoms have begun more regularly in plenums, buros, and party organizations to examine questions connected with improving the style, form, and methods of activity of Komsomol organizations. Workers of these party committees, and leadership cadres, are constantly associating with young people and participating in the work of plenums and Komsomol meetings. All of this has a beneficial effect on the Komsomol committees. During this five-year period, 22 gorkoms and raykoms of the Komsomol have been awarded challenge Red Banners by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee "For successes in the communist indoctrination of young people."

The Komsomol and many primary party organizations have accumulated leadership experience. Specific, promising directions in the work with young people are taking shape in the party organizations of the Ashkhabadkhib Production Association, Leninizm yely Sovkhoz, and Soviet Turkmenistany Kolkhoz in Gyaurskiy Rayon, garment factories of individual sewing and tricot in Chardzhou city, the Mary Regional State Electric Station, Kommunizm Kolkhoz in Takhtinskiy Rayon, and the oil-processing plant in Krasnovodsk.

These places are giving all possible consideration to the necessary conditions for shock work and the active participation of young people in social life. The inculcation of high production discipline and a careful attitude toward social property, the creation of good conditions for labor and heightening professional mastery, and the holding of competitions throughout professions--these and many other forms of work with young employees are being carried out at a high level. Reports are regularly heard from communists working in the Komsomol, and they are given help in practical work.

All these collectives are operating successfully, and hold advanced positions in socialist competition.

But in implementing party leadership of the Komsomol we still have problems. Certain Komsomol committees and Komsomol leaders frequently lag behind the growing and changing questions and needs of young people; they sometimes stand on the sidelines of their vital interests, and instead of vital organizational work, they keep busy with paper work, official vanities and ceremonial fuss, and ostentatious functions.

The Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee is not sufficiently exacting toward Komsomol committees, does not devote the necessary attention to generalizing and disseminating the experience of Komsomol organizations and controlling and checking the implementation of the decisions made, and is doing a poor job with the studies and indoctrination of cadres. The Central Committee of the republic Komsomol is enamored of carrying out mass functions which often have no useful purpose.

Taking into account the report-election campaign coming up this year, which will end with the holding of Komsomol conferences, obkoms, gorkhoms, and raykoms of the party must examine as carefully as possible the state of affairs with cadres of the Komsomol.

M. G. Gapurov went on to emphasize that it is necessary to be strictly guided by the CPSU Central Committee's requirement that in selecting cadres everything has great importance--ideological conviction, moral purity, organizational skill, ability to respond precisely to the specific questions of young people, professional maturity, and an affinity for young people.

Young people from among the working class especially should be advanced into Komsomol leadership work, since they have become seasoned by labor and inculcated in themselves political consciousness, organization, and collectivism. This will raise to a new level the endeavors of Komsomol organizations, and create the needed reserve of cadres for further advancement into party, soviet, and economic work.

The process of improving the style of party work which is going on now in the CPSU as a whole is bound to have a very beneficial effect also on the leadership of our republic Komsomol. The unchanging rule in the efforts of party committees should be regular examination of issues of the life of Komsomol organizations, rendering them practical aid, including in the resolution of housing questions and other social matters, and the enjoyment of the great rights granted to young people by the constitution of the USSR. It is necessary to arrange matters everywhere so that all vital questions of the studies, labor, existence, and leisure of young people are resolved with the direct participation of the Komsomol.

As the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, the indoctrination of young people is a party, state, and social effort. Each link of our state and economic organism must precisely determine its place in this great and responsible work.

This especially applies to soviets of people's deputies, which have been instructed to make fuller use of the powers conferred on them to ensure the comprehensive resolution of issues of the indoctrination, education, labor and life, leisure, and health care of young people. The soviet's tasks in this regard are laid out in the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Trade union organizations and all ministries and departments should be more actively included in this work with young people.

In the work with young people and the Komsomol, it is necessary to manifest maximum concern, attention, and objectivity, to support promising beginnings, and teach and bring them up, as Lenin said, "not with sermons but with work."

Now that the study of party documents in Komsomol organizations has brought about a mood for practical efforts, the Komsomol Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must bring to the awareness of every young person the content of the CPSU decree and speeches by Comrade K. U. Chernenko on questions of the party's work with young people. It is necessary to radically improve the style, forms and methods of their activity, resolutely eradicate formalism and disorganization, and strengthen the unity of word and deed in all areas of Komsomol work.

There is no doubt that, under the seasoned guidance of the party, Komsomol members and young people will labor creatively and forcefully in all these directions.

At the conclusion of his speech, Comrade M. G. Gapurov assured the Leninist Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo in the name of the plenum participants that the party organization, communists, and, under their guidance, the Komsomol members and all working people of the republic, will do all possible to successfully bring to life the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the directives of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade K. U. Chernenko; with new labor achievements they will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and Turkmen Communist Party, and the 100th anniversary of Turkmenistan's voluntary joining of Russia, and they will greet the 27th CPSU Congress in a worthy manner.

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REGIONAL

GAPUROV HOLDS RECEPTION FOR VISITING INDIAN AMBASSADOR

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Sep 84 p 1

[TurkmenINFORM article: "Reception of an Indian Guest"]

[Text] On 18 September, M. G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, received the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Republic of India to the USSR Mr Said Nurul Hassan, who is visiting our republic.

Comrade M. G. Gapurov told his guest about the historic, progressive significance of Turkmenistan's voluntary joining of Russia, and the economic and cultural development of the Turkmen SSR during the years of Soviet rule.

Comrade M. G. Gapurov emphasized the importance of the growing economic and cultural ties between our country, including Turkmenistan, and friendly India, whose roots go back into the distant past.

Mr Said Nurul Hassan thanked him for the warm, friendly reception, and observed that Turkmenistan has made and continues to make a great contribution in the cause of strengthening the friendship and cooperation between India and the USSR, and that the reciprocal visits of representatives of our countries is still further strengthening the friendship between our peoples.

The ambassador discussed the Indian people's struggle for peace, against racism and apartheid in all of their manifestations, and for the country's progressive development.

The reception was participated in by A. I. Rachkov, second secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, and M. Mollayeva, secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

On the same day, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India to the USSR Mr Said Nurul Hassan paid a visit to B. Yazkuliyeu, chairman of the presidium of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet.

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REGIONAL

KASSR PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEE ON CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 84 p 3

[Article: "In the Kazakh SSR People's Control Committee"]

[Text] The People's Control Committee of the republic reviewed the results of an examination of the fulfillment by the Kazakh SSR ministries of rural construction and procurement of the tasks involved in the formation and putting into operation of the enterprises of the agroindustrial complex.

It was noted that since the beginning of the five-year plan the subdivisions of the Ministry of Rural Construction failed to assimilate fully millions of rubles of state capital investments for the building of elevators and mixed-feed enterprises. As a result of this, last year alone an Osakarovskiy elevator and a storage facility of the silage type in Karagand and a mixed-feed plant in Turgay Oblast were not put into operation. The construction times for similar projects in Dzhezkazgan, Kustanay and Severo-Kazakhstan oblasts were almost doubled. Things are no better now.

For the past 9 months, the planning tasks could not be fulfilled at half of the projects under construction for the republic's Ministry of Procurement.

Because of weak control on the part of the ministries, construction projects are poorly supplied with material-technical and manpower resources and with high-quality planning and estimating documentation. Ineffective use is made of construction machines and mechanisms at the projects.

And the quality of construction does not correspond to current requirements. Many projects are still being turned over with large components unfinished, and at times it takes a long time to eliminate these deficiencies. The customer organizations are insufficiently concerned about a rapid pace for the erection in the rayon of new housing and other projects of everyday social and cultural life for the service personnel.

The basic reasons for the situation that has developed were significant shortcomings in the organization of production and labor, weak discipline in execution, and insufficiently high responsibility of the managing workers of the ministries and their subdivisions for the implementation of the construction program.

The Kazakh SSR People's Control Committee severely punished N. Pastushenko, director of the republic's Glavelevatormel'stroy [Main Administration for the Construction of Elevators and Mills] for the allowed shortcomings. Also brought to disciplinary responsibility were the ministerial deputies: S. Pankratenkov for rural construction, T. Urazbayev for procurement, and a number of other managers.

Also reviewed at the committee meeting were the course of the implementation of the decree of the party and government on increasing geological survey work and the development of the oil and gas industry in western Kazakhstan, shortcomings in the production of consumer goods at a number of enterprises of the republic's Ministry of Local Industry, and other questions.

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REGIONAL

KISHNEV CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE QUESTION REVIEWED

Riga IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK LATVIYSKOY SSR in Latvian No 2, Feb 84 pp 132-133

[Article by A. Blinkena: "National Language Developed in Socialist Society"]

[Text] Socialism has brought changes to all areas of life, and these are directly reflected in language. That is why new and important tasks come to the forefront in linguistics, as well. It is the job of linguists to clarify those language components that are important to the era of techno-scientific revolution; language must also be studied in its socio-philosophical and functional aspect, because social factors are attaining a qualitatively new level in the function and development of language.

Under conditions of a highly developed socialism national relationships gain new significance--strengthened are the friendships and closest cooperative relationships between all the Soviet nationalities and peoples of the socialist nations.

Whether in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the people's democratic countries, bi-lingualism is a reality which will deepen, that is why the greatest attention is to be directed toward its varied problems.

In all the national languages of the entire socialist society similar processes take place and similar problems develop which can be solved only in a joint effort towards a common cause. In order to jointly solve the theoretic and practical problems of language development, a complex target-program has been worked out, in the realization of which are taking part scientists of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the socialist nations. Presently in Prague an extensive monograph is being prepared on the actual questions of national language development theories and practice.

Some of these problems were addressed at the international symposium held in Kishinev on September 19-20, 1983, under the topic: "National Language Developed Socialism in Society."

The symposium was organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences Literature and Language Department, USSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute, the Scientific Council for Development of National Languages in the Development of Socialist Nations and the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic's Academy of Sciences Institute of Languages and Literature.

In the symposium those linguists active in the realization of the internationally coordinated target-program, "National language in a developed socialism," also participated with lectures; they represented the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic.

As stated by the President of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences, A. Zhuchenko, in his opening of the symposium, the symposium will be a great significance in the realization of the complex target-program.

In the welcoming speech of the Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute, G. Stepanov, delivered by Academician N. Korletjanu, it was emphasized that new processes and phenomena have appeared which must be directly and adequately expressed in language. In socialism new phonological systems and grammatical categories do not come about, but there are other new characteristics--a stronger influence of social factors, the development of linguistic culture, and the intensification of linguistic reciprocal influence.

The coordinator of the complex international target-program, Director of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics, Dr J. Petr, emphasized that this program is a synthetic union of linguistic and socio-linguistic problems in the aspects of theory and practice within the conditions of the new social circumstances. The stratification of language within the various social levels has changed, changes have also taken place in the uses and function of language. That is why the greatest attention should be given to linguistic research in social processes, which at the present time reaches qualitatively new levels. The linguist's job is to clarify those language components that are important in this age of techno-scientific revolution. More than ever before language must be studied in the socio-philosophical and functional aspect. The job of linguistics is to render scientific research and practical recommendations. (That correlates directly with duties assigned to all workers in science by the 1983 Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee (PSKP CK) June and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee (LKP CK) July Plenum resolutions.) In the politics of language linguistics has the deciding voice: it regulates the development of literary language, it has the role of chief coordinator in these processes. The politics of language will have to continue to strive for the expansion and development of the social functions of national languages. The influence of extra-linguistic factors upon language, upon style development, changes in terminology, and the relationship of permanent language forms to the needs of society will have to continue to be researched.

Important in this respect is the activity of the government administrative agencies in that direction and promotion of an optimal usage of national languages. It is important to generate a universally used literary language in all spheres of national life, to utilize language in the realization of a nation's creative potential. Since, under socialism, the number of those people who use a literal language is increasing, and it becomes more and more

democratic, as the starting point of the linguist's work J. Petr proposed the molding of language cultures, the comprehension of language situation and the exploration of the forms of language existence.

The lecture Doctor, J. Kraus, science secretary, international target-program coordination, linguist of the German Democratic Republic Academy of Sciences, was devoted to just these problems of language culture in a socialist society. He pointed out that language culture categories had been already worked out in the thirties, but lately new needs and requirements had come up in this area. The differentiations of the sciences and characteristics of language integration are vital in our time. In national languages the contact between literary and non-literary forms has intensified, dialects have acquired inter-dialectical forms and influence literary language forms. In this regard new arguments developed in the normalization of language--the characteristics of the spoken language become ever stronger, the rigorous and also the tolerant norm variants become legalized. In the opinion of J. Kraus, codification will have to conform to language tendencies, and variations from literary norms are even to be expected. That is why it is important to study variants as a phenomenon which prevents a language from being static. He also emphasized the norm already advanced in soviet linguistics, the principle of elastic stability. Codification, in the opinion of J. Kraus, frequently overtakes the linguist's competence, it is more to be recommended than ordered. Added to that, of great importance is the science of style and interpretation of the entire text, and especially in journalism and science interpretation is essential.

The role of language culture in our language situation was described also by L. Graudins, emphasizing that in soviet linguistics, an impressive level has already been attained in this area. Of great significance in the development of language culture and the discipline of theoretic science were the Czech linguists. Concretely observing the processes of language development, it is obvious that in the Russian language also the influence of national languages is great, and not all of this influence (especially in the vocabulary) is to be rejected. The idea develops "republic norm" or "regional norm", which cannot be ignored, but the problem of how to evaluate it remains. V. Mihalchenko (USSR Academy of Sciences), also spoke about variants in the Russian and Lithuanian languages.

Professor V. Hartung (German Democratic Republic Academy of Sciences), addressing the question of the influence of social factors upon language development in a socialist society, demonstrated the importance of the task of communicative differentiation. In the results of the assessment of the communication situation there develop various literary language form homonyms. That is why research into language variance in differing situations is imperative, utilizing magnetophone entries, socio-linguistic data, etc.

G. Chimenska (USSR Academy of Sciences) presented a comparative evaluation of the development of the Slavic literary languages in today's socialist countries. She emphasized the situations and functional peculiarities of the various languages, and showed how in our time the stratification of the Slavic languages is developing more dynamically than in the past. A special

place was given to the spoken language which manifests itself in two forms--inter-dialectic and substandard. It would be desirable to strengthen the literary language in the sphere of official communications, but in the unconstrained usage of the common language other national language models can also be useful.

The Academician from the Moldavian Soviet Union Republic Academy of Sciences, N. Korletjanu lectured on the development of the Moldavian language in Soviet times, especially emphasizing in it the journalistic language, which is the laboratory where the most new words come about, construction, and pronunciation. It is important along with the perfecting of one's own language to also master the Russian language more thoroughly.

Public communications language as one of the chief objects of linguistic study was recognized as such also by N. Pilinskis (Minsk). The language of the newspaper, radio and TV must be the example, linguists must help to work out good recommendations for it.

While examining the questions of the contemporary development of the Byelorussian language, M. Sudnik and A. Mihnevich touched upon the question of interferences in related languages. Everyone in Byelorussia understands the Russian language, but not everyone knows it completely and accurately. The similarity of both languages creates a para-vocabulary--errors in vocabulary usage. (The same can be said also of the Latvian language--((Russian word)) "to be ill", to stir, "to disturb", etc.) The speakers advanced not only the orthological, but also the caliological aspect of language (not only correct, but also good!). Here also exist problems of psychology, rhetoric and others.

The German linguist H. Schoenfeld emphasized the role of tradition in the development and nurturing of languages. The social components of language development must be studied (there is a difference in the language of those people who are over 45 years old).

The study of the development of languages in their international aspect recommended the Hungarian Linguist Professor Sepe. A more extensive investigation of the problems of the internationalization of languages, the principles and criteria of their evaluation recommended also N. Smirnov (USSR Academy of Sciences).

Professor of Kishinev University, A. Chobanu, turned to the problem of the realm of language function. If a language does not accomplish all the functions of society, it cannot be said that it is complete. The author of this information, also discussed this problem recognizing the function of national languages as vitally important within all levels, including the highest of the educational system. That, on the one hand, assures a more complete mastery of learning materials and, on the other hand, allows for the mastery of correct terminology and correct concepts.

J. Deshiev, head, department of Problems of National Language Development (USSR Academy of Sciences) in his lecture entitled: "The ideological struggle and contemporary world language politics" included several aspects in this

area: 1) ideological 2) linguistically situative and 3) socially functional. The ideological basis of language development is the principle of equal rights of the Leninist nations and languages. In the 60 years of Soviet power all of our nations' national languages have developed in such a way that any context can be expressed in them. The ethical norms of societal communication have changed, the social functions of languages have broadened. This calls for a deeper study of languages than the socio-philosophical, namely, a purely linguistic aspect.

At the closing of the symposium J. Petr concluded, that the meeting of linguists had been successful and had disclosed many facts about the multi-formity of language life in the socialist countries. The thought exchange also disclosed some of the presently weaker areas in the theory and practice of our languages--that it is imperative primarily to work out an apparatus of socio-linguistic concepts and terms.

The symposium demonstrated the triumph of Leninist language policies in all socialist countries and also the high scientific level of the problems to be discussed. The materials of this will also be reflected in UNESCO information.

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REGIONAL

KIRGHIZ AUTHOR AYTMATOV ON NATIONALISM IN ARTS

Moscow LITERATURNOMYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 8, (signed to press 10 Aug 84)
pp 35-40

[Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov, national writer of Kirghizia, winner of the Lenin and state prizes, outstanding public person, and author of the widely known books "Povesti gor i stepey" [Tales of the Mountains and Steppes] (1962), "Belyy parokhod" [White Steamer] (1970), the stories "Ranniye Zhuravli" [Early Cranes] (1975), "Pegly pes, begushchiy krayem morya" [Piebald Dog Running Along the Edge of the Sea] (1977), the novel "Buranny polustanok" [Snowy Stop] (1981) and others, by Gevorg Atryan, critic and author of articles on the problems of Soviet multinational prose; time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The jubilee of the USSR Union of Writers is approaching--this creative organization was founded 50 years ago. The fact that multinational Soviet literature has become a phenomenon in world culture is now incontestable. It is always interesting how this unity of diversity is specifically interpreted in the creativity of an author. Chingiz Torekulovich, what do you personally get from this feeling of belonging to a literature that is unique in the world and so different and unified in its strivings?

[Answer] It is very important for every artist to rely upon the intellectual experience that has already been established by his predecessors. I am grateful to fate for the fact that I, my generation, and all of us have had the good fortune to be creative in the multinational Soviet state. It is precisely because of this that we have the opportunity to unite our intellectual efforts. For example, previously the Armenians hardly knew who we the Kirghizes are, and we did not know much about you. Now Narekatsi and Yeznkatsi, Komitas and Sar'yan, the architectural monuments of Armenia, are not only your heritage but are an object of national pride for all of the peoples inhabiting our country.

Whenever I learned that my latest book had been translated into Armenian, I had the feeling of belonging to something wonderful and eternal. For Armenian is one of the oldest languages of humanity, and the consciousness of the fact that my works have come alive in that language as well fills me with pride and gratitude. This is a great honor for me. Just as is the fact that I could be a guest of Armenia and thus had the good fortune of coming upon the mighty source of contemporary Armenian reality. Therein is much that is edifying, there is much experience in intellectual life, both past and present, and there is much that one wishes to adopt. For me, my stay in Armenia is a holiday in two ways.

It is not only the rare hospitality of my Armenian friends but it is also a "holiday that is always with you," as E. Hemingway said.

[Question] All of us Armenian readers were moved by the epigraph for the novel "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'" [And the Day Lasts Longer Than a Lifetime] that you took from "Kniga skorbi" [Book of Sorrow] by Grigor Narekatsi. Why Narekatsi, how did it happen that you turned to him, and what was it about this poet that interested you?

[Answer] I think that "Kniga skorbi" by Narekatsi, which has returned to us from out of nowhere, is, in a certain sense, the book of the century. Whereas Armenian readers were familiar with it long ago, the fact is that it, having been translated into Russian, has been reborn, and I would say that it has attained immortality.

This book excited me and gave me a lot to think about. This person, who lived almost a thousand years ago, thought in categories about which at times we can hardly imagine today. It seems to us that we, as people living in the second half of the 20th century, are the heirs of the entire human civilization and that we have better and more knowledge about everything that our predecessors. Yes, of course, in the area of technical and other achievements and the like, we are immeasurably beyond them. But when we talk about human thought, about man's concept of his own world--and, in the final analysis, art is a way of thinking about the intellectual world of man, about society and history in a given time segment--then in this case at times there is something that we can learn from the thinkers of previous epochs. And the poetry of Narekatsi is a confirmation of my words. This is a book in which there is a flight of poetic thought both of that time as well as of all times.

In turning to "Kniga skorbi," from the very first lines we delve into an individual's self-forgetful confession and his frenzied repentance. But what is essentially the most astounding thing is that Narekatsi turns only to himself, being both defendant and judge. In asking himself the most complex existential questions, he himself finds the answers to them. For the time in which the poet lived, that alone is a feat of the spirit, an enlightenment. Every time that I return to this book, I am surprised by the genius of the poet, by his frenzy and striving to penetrate to the essence of human destiny, to raise man's intellectual qualities to the highest moral level. This is one of the most philosophical works that I have ever read. It is an uncommon book!

This is why I selected two lines from "Kniga skorbi" for the epigraph, lines that correspond to my disposition and my preception:

And this book is in place of my body,
And this word is in place of my soul....

When I was writing "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'," I put all of my strength, thoughts and feelings into it. The novel became a revelation of my soul.

[Question] Does this mean that at the time it seemed to you that you were writing your main book?

[Answer] I had that feeling, although in any case one must work to one's limits, with the intention of revealing oneself down to the final word, of setting forth all of one's thoughts and ideas, as if you were being given this opportunity for the last time. But this does not mean that everything that I thought of went into the book. It is clearly that way with any intention.

Today this novel is still my greatest achievement. I say "still" because I naturally do not intend to stop with what I have achieved, but the future will show whether or not what I write later is more interesting and more significant.

[Question] It is breathtaking when, in reading the novel, you come to the legend of mankurt. The ruin of the unfortunate mother who strove to bring back her son was described particularly poignantly and tragically. Tell us, what is the origin of the word "mankurt"? Did the legend of mankurt really exist among the people or did you invent it?

[Answer] There is no national legend of mankurt that is passed on orally in the form in which I stated it. But the Kazakhs have a prototype of such a legend. In that distant epoch on the border of northern China and present-day Central Asia, stormy historical events took place, the peoples lived in constant enmity, and cruel customs prevailed. An imprisoned young man was subjected to agonizing torture, depriving him of his memory and forcing him to forget his own name, who his father and mother are, who his people are, and where his land is. A person deprived of his national and historical sense of belonging and of everything that characterizes him as an individual was converted into a submissive slave, into an obedient robot. And to this person-idiot they gave the disdainful name of mankurt.

But this historical information alone was not enough for me. I had to raise it to a higher level and inspire a philosophical meaning in it.

It is precisely the concern for the individual and the rejection of everything that prevents him from becoming a complete, rich and outstanding personality that compelled me to create the legend of mankurt.

[Question] In the novel, you also turned to fantasy, but it seems to me that these episodes have lost something relative to the inexhaustible symbolic multiplicity of the myth.

[Answer] This is not the first time that I have heard about this, but it is inequitable to compare one with the other. For it is one thing when I turn to the living breath of history, to the legends and myths, where there is action, images, passions and characters, but it is another thing when I, having decided to present the imaginary and fantastic world as reality, started to describe it in the language of a reporter, almost that of a newspaper. There are not even any personages there; acting in their place are certain forces under numerical indexes.

One must also not forget about the special features of the poetry of the myth, coming out of the depths of the centuries and mastered a very long time ago. We only bring the myth back to life, although we do put something of our own

into it. The poetry of the myth is close to us and it is understandable, but fantasy is a child of our century.

[Question] The comparison of myth and fantasy is involuntary here. The novel is centered in the middle of the 20th century, and diverging from this point are two temporal lines--into the distant past and into the future. A certain association is unavoidable here.

And yet is it possible that in the future you will again turn to fantasy?

[Answer] I do not know. It is possible if such a necessity arises. But in any case, fantasy, of course, is not my element.

[Question] In one of your dialogues, you said that the duty of artistic literature is to form an individual with planetary thinking. Can your hero, Buranny Yedige, be seen as such a human type?

[Answer] The concept "planetary thinking" is not in itself new. It has already been encountered in the works of scholars of various philosophical schools, but in literature, by virtue of the special features of art itself, it is now taking a special position. For whereas philosophical teaching is basically meant for a narrow circle of people, artistic literature is directed to millions. And although the writers of different peoples have long had the dream that each person would possess planetary thinking, it is clear that humanity will not reach this point very soon.

The essence of planetary thinking is in the fact that each person would be concerned about the fate of the other person, of people, and would wish them well.

Take, for example, Buranny Yedige, a railroad man by occupation and a simple person. I, of course, will not take it upon myself to say that he in his consciousness is operating in the categories of planetary thinking. He hardly suspects what that is, but if he could reach this concept in his philosophical reflections he would be worthy of it.

The triumph of such thinking in the consciousness of humanity means the advent of that era when each of us, overcoming national, linguistic and other differences, will see in the other person above all a source of ideas for good and not for aggression. Then our golden dream will be fulfilled, when if not we, then our descendants will say: "I am a person of the planet, and all of the people on this planet are my brothers and sisters!" Perhaps this sounds somewhat abstract and does not seem quite realistic today, but if our spirit and our thoughts and desires do not strive toward this, then it appears that for a long time to come the planet will remain in this state of extreme tension and extremely hostile intentions in which it now finds itself.

[Question] How, in practical terms, can a writer today be useful to the society in which he lives? To what degree does artistic literature, and in particular your creativity, contribute to improving the intellectual climate?

[Answer] I, of course, do not think that anyone will immediately begin to live differently after having read my book. But literature must delve into these

areas of life, and writers are obligated to think about the intellectual world of each person individually and of the society as a whole. The role of artistic journalism is now much larger. In addressing millions, inasmuch as we are a nation second to none in reading, and having the opportunity to use words to reach the hearts of people, a writer, as he defends moral purity, must fight against Philistinism, excessive consumption, the exaggerated love for things, and other negative phenomena, among which I would mention in particular basic everyday or, as it is also called, unmotivated cruelty, including in relation to animals.

And that is not all. As was already noted, the growth in the standard of living and the well-being of the people is not always directly proportional to the intellectual growth of all members of the society. For example, in my early childhood and youth, life was much harder for people and our struggle for our daily bread excluded even the very thoughts of idleness and inactivity. (Of course, there was never a lack of idlers and opportunists and even criminals. But I am not talking about them now. I have in mind the way of life of the overwhelming majority.) Even now, idleness is not such a rare phenomenon. The struggle for existence has faded into the past, but instead of switching their strengths, energy and mind to something elevated and nonmaterial, many get involved in a love for things that, like blinders, closes their eyes to the light.

That is why I repeat that to the extent of his strengths and abilities, every writer must in his oral and printed declarations create a mental attitude in people that would help them to eliminate these negative phenomena. For we writers have been assigned a special responsibility. To some degree, we are all responsible for what takes place in the souls of people.

[Question] As is known, many writers are on creative missions, and there they become acquainted with people among whom they eventually find their heroes. Are there such real prototypes among your characters?

[Answer] No, it can be said that my literary characters do not have these prototypes. But the interesting thing is that here the opposite relationship can arise. After a work becomes widely known, the literary hero suddenly finds his own prototypes. Some time ago, I received a letter with approximately the following contents: "I am that same old man Momin from your story 'Belyy parokhod,' I am 84 years old, and I live precisely in San-Tashkaya Ravine, just as described in your story. I have indeed worked all my life in forestry, and Orozkul, the person whom you hate so much, torments me to this day! But the boy, my grandson, did not drown at all...." And letters in a similar vein are not rare. Many make the same mistake regarding "Pogly pos, begushchiy krayem morya." It even seems to them that I lived for a certain time on Sakhalin studying the life, customs and mores of the Nivkhs, but in reality I was never there.

I relate this not to exaggerate the authentic significance of my literary works. Not at all. I simply want to reemphasize in all seriousness that a true artist is, of course, obligated to have a profound and thorough knowledge of the world, his own time, people, and his own validity, but, at the same time,

artistic literature does not necessarily have to be taken directly from some fragment of real life. One should not forget that artistic creation and invention are to some degree an enigma of creativity and that there are many other indirect ways for the rise of certain artistic forms.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the place and significance of the novel in contemporary literature?

[Answer] The farther we go, the more we are convinced that the novel remains the leading genre, the principal, most developed and mature form of artistic prose. Writers have still not devised a more significant form. To be sure, there are attempts to combine drama, prose and poetry, but they are no more than experiments.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, you are a clearly defined national writer. What can you say about the concept "national character of art"?

[Answer] This question is very important, and the main thing is that it is always topical. One cannot put it to the side and relate to it with academic calmness. It involves both the entire nation as a whole as well as each of its representatives individually.

The historical development has been that our planet does not have just one people and a common human mass, but there are nations and each one of them has its own national character and its own national cultural values. Each of us is filled with a feeling of his own worth and of pride when the music, songs, dances, books and paintings of his people are understood and appreciated by others as a certain artistic, cultural and moral value. It is very important that national culture, as a sort of calling card for the outside world, be recognized everywhere, that people immediately say: that is a Georgian melody, and there is an Armenian dance, and there you have Uzbek poetry. But subjectivism, partiality and the sports spirit are unacceptable here. In artistic culture, there must be no desire to shunt someone to the side, to outjump someone or to outperform in any way. The highest goal is to be able to contribute to the overall human mosaic with one's own colors and intonations!

Today each of us is obligated to preserve that originality and those distinguishing features that his people have acquired by virtue of their geographic location and special linguistic features throughout the entire history of their formation, for the world is beautiful through its diversity. Otherwise, everywhere we would have a gray, standardized and identical manifestation of the human spirit.

Some people even think that with time all national forms will fade into the background and die out and the time will come for a cosmic and universal art. I am opposed to this opinion and I believe that art cannot exist without primary and chief sources for the rise of artistic thought, and that is exactly what national culture and the imagery of national thought are.

However, in separating, developing and preserving national forms, we must not go to the other extreme of provincialism. Narrow-mindedness and extreme

conservatism in art, by depriving it of its inspiration and human meaning, inevitably lead to primitivism.

[Question] And how do you explain that phenomenon where local and national forms in works acquire features and meaning that are common to all of mankind? For that is how it is in the most significant works of our multinational Soviet literature and in world literature as well....

By the way, it seems to me that this is precisely the way that your own works are now winning the hearts of broad masses of readers. How do you achieve such an "expansion of the local" to a worldwide scale?

[Answer] It is difficult for me to talk about myself, but since we have begun to speak about world literature, it has always astonished me how this occurs, in particular, with Gabriel Garcia Marquez. It seems that everything that Garcia Marquez writes about is singularly Colombian life, and all of the artistic means that he employs are also characteristic precisely of Latin American prose. And nevertheless, what this author has written is interesting, significant and necessary for millions of people in the most varied corners of the world. Of course, there are many other books touching upon serious social problems, the class struggle, the old and the new, the progressive and the backward, but without making artistic discoveries, as is the case with Garcia Marquez, the authors of these works are not able to transform a certain private description of life into a dramatic representation on an overall human scale. Certainly there are people who are capable of scientifically revealing the "mechanism" of this transformation, but I trust more in artistic intuition....

In using Garcia Marquez as an example, I especially had in mind our times, but if we turn to the history of literature, then we can enumerate all of the great writers: Homer, who to this day continues to rouse our souls, and Shakespeare, a playwright whose works are still alive today. And it is difficult to find an artist who has done more for the theatrical arts than he did. But certainly Shakespeare had no expectation that his works would become the heritage of the entire world. Can it really be that the story of the feud between two clans and the story of the tragic love of two young hearts--Romeo and Juliet--are stories of worldwide importance? I only approach the solution when I say that in this case the magic of transformation is explained by the scale of the personalities depicted by Shakespeare in this play.

[Question] You said Garcia Marquez and that immediately brought to mind his furious lines, sarcastically and pitilessly tearing the covers away from bigotry, hypocrisy and cowardice, describing credibly and to the point of cruelty the cadaverous odium of indifference and the vileness of immorality.

Yes, Garcia Marquez is one of the most outstanding masters of our time, and fortunately he is not alone. Arising before our eyes is an entire continent of Latin American prose, revealing with unbelievable realism the history of its peoples and human passions: Miguel Angel Asturias, Alejo Carpentier, Mario Vargas Losa....

[Answer] A miracle truly has happened. A wonderful prose has arisen, and not in the United States, where scientific and technical progress has reached such

a high level and where life is so saturated and so diverse, but in Central and Latin America.

What moves me in this prose is the vigor of thoughts and feelings and the downright burning passions. This great element of unusual, uncommon artistic thinking that we cannot always understand, this imagery and incredible brilliance of colors and the words were not only surprising and moving but they also gave a tremendous aesthetic joy to the readers of the entire world. It appears that the explanation for this must be sought, in the first place, in the contemporary political and cultural life of the Latin American countries with consideration being given to all of the complications and difficulties of human existence in this region, and secondly, by delving into history. Let us remember that there was even a pre-Columbian Indian culture of thinking there, and with the arrival of the Europeans a mixing of blood and life styles took place. It seems to me that the solution to the phenomenon of contemporary Latin American prose is hidden somewhere here.

[Question] Chingiz Torekulovich, there is always a good deal of argument in regard to the problem of traditions and innovation. What is your personal perception of the problem?

[Answer] This is the eternal problem of literature. It seems to me that every artist must have his own internal points of reference in regard to what is traditional for him and what is innovative. This requires the most elementary thing: he must be well-read and be familiar with his contemporaries, the classics and literature in translation.

[Question] At times, our literary youth--some part of it, in any case--understands innovation somewhat superficially, as an imitation of contemporary Western patterns, and often not the very best. What we see here is the reduction of the problem to fashion.

Chingiz Torekulovich, you have occasion to travel a lot and it can be said that for you the world is an open book. Has the literature of the West yielded anything for you in the sense of understanding the problem of innovation?

[Answer] In searching for new forms, the literature of the West has doubtless done much. Take Hemingway or Faulkner. I, for example, am very cautious in turning to dialogue in my works, for it always seems to me that my heroes are not saying what they should the way they should, whereas for Hemingway dialogue is the basic moving force of the subject.

Our national Eastern literatures most often fall down in their pompous style that comes from the literary experience of recent years. Wordiness, excessive explanation and description, pomposity of speech, as though the characters are continually making toasts rather than just living--the sooner a true master gets rid of all of this, the sooner he will realize his own civic and creative destiny.

It would be unfair to reduce innovation simply to form, as is sometimes done. Of course, newness of form is what permits one immediately, with the "naked"

eye, to distinguish the present-day prose writer from writers of past years. But the main thing is something else. Innovation must above all be reflected in the scale and method of artistic thought, including the manner of describing some object or another, as well as in the selection of the descriptive means and the intonations.... It is then that the author's contemporaries will sense that he is an artist of their time.

[Question] How serious is the danger that a writer, in following innovative trends, can become separated from national traditions?

[Answer] One should not concentrate too much attention on such fears. One must simply always improve one's own national artistic self-perception, raising it and bringing it closer to what is new in the world.

I recently read something by Goethe to the effect that one should not hold on fanatically to one's past, one must know how to give up everything that has become outdated, adding instead the experience of the present. I think that it was correctly said. For even the creativity of the good poets of the past in some way does not now fully correspond to our aesthetic requirements. One can and should read, study and investigate them, but still, we are left with the feeling that that time has passed forever. Of course, one can find much to object to in the case of contemporary writers. But if the main thing--the spirit of our historical epoch--is there, it means that this work is certainly worthy of the reader's attention.

[Question] What do you think about the designations now current: "village prose," "production prose," etc.?

[Answer] As a writer, these designations do not concern me much personally. I always write what I consider to be essential, what is organic for me, and what I know and love. For convenience of analysis of the contemporary literary process, it is probably necessary for the critics to "subdivide" it that way, but this is of no consequence for an artist. The important thing is that he reveals the individuality and vividly illuminates the internal world and the humanity of his protagonist, whether he be a peasant, an engineer or a scientist. Then it will be interesting for others to read.

[Question] Your name is mentioned in almost every more or less significant critical article, and serious essays, dissertations and monographs are written on your works. It seems that the volume of material that has been written about your works by Soviet and foreign critics greatly exceeds everything that you yourself have created.

[Answer] Criticism is a great thing for an artist. For if there were no feeling that a like-minded person is standing by you, or, on the other hand, a person who is critical (The relationship to you is not the important thing. In the final analysis, both will say important and useful things to you, if you can only comprehend them correctly.), then everything would be much more complicated and it may be that the creative process would be less fruitful. And here we are talking not only about people standing with you on the same ideological platform, but also about the progressive, broad-minded and

objective critics of foreign countries. Recently, for example, I was sent a huge package from the FRG. It contained about 50 articles, reviews, commentaries and responses to the novel "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'" that was translated at the Bertelsmann Publishing House. What do West German critics think about the novel and how do they evaluate it? This is not only interesting, it is very important for me to know as an artist.

[Question] And which problems seem to you to be most topical in contemporary criticism?

[Answer] It appears to me that there is an original and main problem that is always topical. One must continue to reflect on the extent to which modern literature is able to recreate the human personality. In this regard, we should be talking about the protagonist whose manner of acting not only corresponds to what we observe in reality, but this personality must also exert a wholesome influence on the development of both critical thinking and artistic thought as a whole.

[Question] Many are sharply negative on the film adaptation of the classic works. There are writers who feel that a film adaptation only diminished, belittled or completely destroyed what was essential in their literary work. How do you feel about motion picture adaptations in general and about such adaptations of your literary works in particular?

[Answer] I am familiar with the feeling of indifference or simply lack of belief in motion pictures. I encountered this in my conversations with my Armenian colleagues. Of course, they are right about much. But I can provide a number of examples when film adaptation brought an artistic work onto a larger national or even universal plane--we are also talking about foreign adaptations--forcing readers to take a look at the original for the first time or to return to the book again.

If the talk is of my works, then it can be said that my story "Ranniye zhuravli" evoked similar interest in the second group. After the book appeared in film, there was a second wave of letters in which the viewers expressed a very lively interest in the book.

I firmly believe that for small national literatures such as that of Kirghizia, for example, film adaptation is simply essential. The motion pictures give wings to national culture. And if there are just two or three successes out of 100 attempts to transpose an artistic work to the language of motion pictures, then that alone is good!

[Question] It is well known that Louis Aragon was delighted with your story "Dzhamilya" and that he himself translated it into French, wrote a long foreword to it and published it in France. Immediately finding itself at the center of the literary crossroads, that story became significant, it was noticed and people began to translate it into various languages. Would you like to mention anyone else who influenced you personally and creatively at the start of your literary career?

[Answer] Mukhtar Auezov, a classic writer of Kazakh literature and my contemporary. I greatly valued the attention that he paid to me. He read everything that came out of my pen and often he responded with a telegram or a warm and encouraging letter. At that time, the support of this man with unquestionable authority encouraged and inspired me.

[Question] Well, if we turn to the present time, which of the writers do you like best? Can one say that any particular prose writer has a certain influence on you?

[Answer] You understand that when I mention a particular name that does not mean that he is directly influencing me at a given moment. I think that here it should not be a matter of one writer or one book. I, as many of my colleagues, am influenced by the entire intellectual experience of humanity, both of past years as well as of the new time. I read the classics as well as the contemporary writers and good books, and I have occasion to become acquainted with imitations of literature. Every writer and every book speaks about something. True art evokes interest and the desire to know how this high artistic level was achieved. A book published by accident teaches how not to write.

[Question] You are one of those writers who compose their works in two languages, in the national language and in Russian. What was it that prompted you to write in Russian? After all, you produced your first works in Kirghiz.

[Answer] Here I would initially like to touch upon the problem of translation. It is the duty of every national literature to create and train a truly strong force of translators. Otherwise, we will always come out losers in this important area. Russian literature provides a wonderful example for all of us. In this literature, tremendous importance has long since been given to translation work. For in translating the classic authors of world literature, Russian translators made their works not only a heritage but also a part of their national culture. In following this example, something else is important for us, and that is to present our own literature to the world in a worthy manner.

For me personally, the time came when I began to be dissatisfied with the translations of my works, and, in taking over the translating myself, I had already begun to write in Russian.

[Question] In our multinational literature, an author writing in Russian or translating himself is now a common phenomenon. Proof of this is in the wonderful books of the Belorussian Vasil' Bykov, the Moldavian Ion Drutse, the Azerbaijanians Anar and Chingiz Guseynov as well as the Ibragimbekov brothers, the Kazakh Olzhas Suleymenov....

[Answer] And this is natural. In our country, bilingualism is becoming the norm for everyone and an important factor for the development of national cultures.

I think that there will be many more writing in two languages. In the first place, in their native language so that it does not die out but remains active and dynamic. In the second place, in the other language, Russian in this case, so that the work can acquire new and greater life.

[Question] It has already been noted more than once that over the last decade there has been a sharp increase in the interest of Soviet writers, particularly in the national republics, in the past of their peoples and their history. People want to find out about "matters of the past" so that they can better understand the present in which they live.

Proceeding from this, is it possible that you, a writer working, we might say, in especially modern material, will turn to historical material?

[Answer] Yes, I am thinking about writing such a work. There will be a mythological stratum there, legends and stories, somehow related and tied together. But right now it is difficult for me to say whether it will be a purely historical novel or part of some other work.

[Question] And on your desk is there now some specific material that you are working on? If so, what can you say about it?

[Answer] I am working on something new, but I would not want to talk about it. And not because I am superstitious and am afraid that nothing will come of it in the future. No, there is simply no sense in talking about something that has not been done yet. For a project is like a living organism that exists and changes along with you. All I can say is that it will be the life of a person of our time.

[Question] What does the protagonist of the work represent? What is his occupation?

[Answer] The occupation is of no consequence here, and it is not what determines his essence. This is a normal, literate and knowing person, a person like many in our midst.

[Question] How do the titles of your works come about, and why did the story "Belyy parokhod" once have still another variant of the title "Posle skazki" [After the Tale], whereas your novel "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'," appearing in ROMAN-GAZETE with 2.5 million copies, suddenly acquired the new title "Buranny polustanok"?

[Answer] In the first case, I wanted to name the story "Posle skazki," but "Belyy parokhod" somehow prevailed. I am at fault in changing the title of the novel, as I was persuaded to make it more laconic, but the novel will again acquire its original name in subsequent editions.

It is always torture for me to find the precise and expressive title that corresponds to the intention of the work. But many writers can do that easily, on the fly. I always envy them.

[Question] It would be interesting to glance into your study, perhaps just out of the corner of the eye, to learn some secrets and habits. How do you work, and what is your rhythm and pace?

[Answer] Unfortunately, I work very unevenly, with interruptions. For various reasons, I simply cannot sit down at my desk. But when I do have the chance,

I give my whole self and every minute I have to the book. That is the way it was with my novel too.

[Question] How long did it take you to write it?

[Answer] In reality, I worked at it for a relatively short time, from December 1979 to April 1980. But I wrote on it every day uninterruptedly, taking time out only for meals and sleep.

[Question] And can you work on several works simultaneously?

[Answer] No, never, although there are writers who can do that.

[Question] Do you pay attention to the first sentence of the work? Does the beginning come easy to you?

[Answer] "Pay attention" is not the way to put it. I spend a lot of time and I agonize over the first phrases, not just the most necessary for this work, in some way determining its essence, but also attracting the interest of the reader from the very beginning. But the ending of the work is long since known to me. I always know how everything will turn out, and only later do I begin to look for a way to make it start.

[Question] Yuriy Bondarev has said that when he began to write the novel "Bereg" [Shore] he still did not have a very clear idea of the beginning, but these final lines had already formed: "And now painlessly, saying farewell to himself, he slowly drifted on the ferry boat imbued with the smell of hay on the warm midday water; he drifted, approaching and not at all able to draw near to that green, Promised and sunny shore that was promising him a full life ahead."

[Answer] It is not that way with me. I do not see the last lines clearly but the final pages, the final concluding events.

[Question] Do you usually write with a pen?

[Answer] Only with a pen. I just could not learn to start out with the typewriter. I rewrite many times, making corrections....

In general, I am terribly anachronistic. For example, I never learned to drive a car or to use a camera.

[Question] And the final question: Your three-volume collection of works has been published. If you had to compose just one volume, what would you include in it?

[Answer] I would include "Proshchay, Gul'sary!" [Farewell, Gul'sary], "Belyy parokhod," "Pegiy pes, begushchiy krayem morya," and "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'."

[Question] And if the collection were shortened even more?

[Answer] No, it is already difficult for me to stop somewhere.

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REGIONAL

SHORTAGE OF TRAINED AGRICULTURAL WORKERS DISCUSSED

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Sep 84 p 2

[TurkmenINFORM article: "In the Standing Commissions of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 17 September there was a joint session of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet Commission for Public Education and Science, Commission for Agriculture, and Commission for the Preservation of Nature. It discussed the progress being made in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the requirements of the country's Food Program for training qualified workers in rural professional and trade schools and using them in agricultural production. Papers were given by N. Bayramsakhatov, chairman of the Turkmen State Committee for Professional and Technical Education, and G. Gurbanov, minister of Agriculture. They and deputies who gave speeches observed that to bring to life the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the 22nd Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party, the requirements of the Food Program, and the "Basic directions of reform of public education and the professional school," the republic is conducting determined work to develop the network and strengthen the material-technical base of rural professional and trade schools, raise the level of the educational-indocctrinational process in them, improve the training of cadres for agriculture, and put them to rational use.

At the same time, the work of the Turkmen State Committee for Professional and Technical Education and the Turkmen Ministry of Agriculture has serious shortcomings in the training of qualified workers for the republic's agriculture and the correct use and appointment of graduates of rural professional and trade schools in production.

In the overall satisfactory recruitment of students into rural professional and trade schools, plans for admittance by order of the most necessary professions to agriculture are routinely not being fulfilled.

The recruitment of graduates of rural professional and trade schools to production is poor. Managers of many associations, organizations, and farms are failing to create for young workers the normal production and

living conditions, and do not take concern for the growth of their professional mastery and cultural-educational level.

Professional guidance work among rural youth is being inadequately conducted, and the ties between public schools, professional-trade schools, and labor collectives are weak.

The Turkmen State Committee for Professional and Technical Education has no close ties with ministries and departments, base enterprises, and ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies in matters of strengthening the educational-material base of rural professional and trade schools.

The Turkmen Supreme Soviet commissions for public education and science, agriculture, and the preservation of nature recommended that the Turkmen State Committee for Professional and Technical Education, corresponding ministries and departments, and soviets of people's deputies provide for fulfillment of the targets established by the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the Turkmen SSR for 1981-1985 in the area of training qualified young workers' cadres for the agroindustrial complex.

An appropriate decision was taken on the matter discussed.

12255

CSO: 1830/3

REGIONAL

TURKMEN TRADE UNIONS COUNCIL HOLDS PLENUM

GF201820 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 20 Oct 84

[Text] Ashkhabad--The eighth plenum of the Turkmen Republican Trade Unions Council held here discussed a question on the work of the republic's trade union organizations for fulfilling the law on the labor collectives and for augmenting its role in controlling the enterprises, institutions and organizations. Ishankuliyeva, candidate member of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Turkmen Trade Unions Council, presented a report.

The reports and speeches noted that the trade unions councils and committees under the leadership of the party organs, by fulfilling the decisions of the fifth plenum of the AUCCTU on the tasks of the trade union organizations in connection with the adoption of the USSR law, are making positive efforts to elucidate the meaning of this law using for this purpose the school of communist labor, economic knowledge, the seminars of the trade unions aktiv and the regular republican oblast trade union courses. All this positively influenced the fulfillment of the republic's socioeconomic development plans and national economy during the jubilant year.

At the same time, the plenum noted that the labor collectives are still not fully using the wide range of authorities and pledges specified by the USSR law.

Khar'kov, candidate member of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chief of the organizational party work department of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Relevant resolutions were passed on the questions discussed.

CSO: 1830/87

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SSR KOMSOMOL HOLDS PLENUM

GF040630 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 9 Oct 84 p 2

[Excerpts] The tasks of the Armenian Komsomol and youths in light of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the further improvement of the party management of the Komsomol and the promotion of the Komsomol role in the communist education of youths" and the instructions of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were reviewed at the routine plenum of the Armenian SSR Komsomol Central Committee on 8 October.

A. Topuzyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, delivered a speech.

Topuzyan and those who addressed the meeting noted that the tasks set by the party today requires further improvements in the entire activities of the Komsomol, the ways and methods of its work and promotion of its role in the communist education of youths.

The Komsomols are initiating new works and achievements at factories, fields, firms, units, and scientific laboratories. Over 400,000 Komsomols in the republic have enrolled in the patriotic movement called "the striking work, knowledge and initiative of the youths on the 11th 5-Year Plan period."

The Komsomol activities are at the center of attention of the republican party organization and its Central Committee. The party organs are systematically reviewing the various aspects of Komsomol organizations' activities, helping them to adopt concrete and practical decisions which encourage the youths to realize the social and economic development tasks.

Today, the primary task of the Komsomol city committees and rayon committees, Komsomol and pioneer organizations and activists is to convey the meaning and significance of the tasks set by the party to each boy and girl, undertake organizational and mass political work for their realization and actively use the Komsomol political economic education system, press, radio, and television for this purpose.

The plenum participants pledged that the 600,000-strong Komsomol brigade of the republic has always been and will always be the loyal assistant of the party in the struggle waged for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 27th Armenian Communist Party Congress and the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The plenum relieved Comrade A.G. Sarkisyan of his duties as secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee and bureau member as he is taking a new party official post and appointed Comrade G.M. Petrosyan as secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee.

The plenum was attended by G. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

CSO: 1838/9

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SSR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION COMMISSION CONVENES

GF041202 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 10 Oct 84 p 2

[Text] The routine session of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Environmental Protection and Conservation of Natural Resources Commission reviewed the question of protection of the Razdhan, Debed, and Pambak rivers in the Caspian Sea from pollution of the waste of the republic's enterprises.

It noted that during the 11th 5-Year Plan period the capacity of the constructions for biological cleaning of sewage has increased by 30 percent. Structures for the biological cleaning of Alaverdi and Kefan cities' sewage have been constructed in the pools of Debed and Vokhchi lakes. Thanks to the commissioning of Sevan-Razdhan and Charendzavan-Yerevan sewage collection stations, the degree of pollution in Razdhan Lake has decreased greatly.

At the same time the commission noted that certain ministries, departments, and enterprises are not fulfilling sufficiently the party and government decisions for the preservation of water installations of the republic, the creation of sanitary conditions in them, and ensurance of drinking water demands. The construction organizations are not paying appropriate attention to the fulfillment of the plans for the construction of water preservation installations due to which their construction has been postponed for many years.

The construction ministries and departments have been urged to review the question of accelerating the construction and commissioning of cleaning structures in the republic's industrial enterprises, Aniyiskiy Rayon villages, and other locations. Other measures for the protection of the lakes from pollution have been projected. It has been considered necessary to look into the question of creating a specialized organization for the fulfillment of the construction and commissioning of installations.

Reviewing the measures proposed by Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee to decrease the condensed transport flow in Yerevan City, the commission urged the Executive Committee to establish a plan for the gradual implementation of these measures along with the Armenian State Planning Committee and the Interior Affairs Ministry.

During the revision of the measures to improve the preservation of the rare kinds of hoofed animals in the republic, the session pointed out that during

recent years, measures have been taken to improve the preservation of boars, spotted deer and wild goats. The hunting of rare types of animals has been forbidden, their numbers have stabilized, the volume of biotechnical measures has expanded and measures have been established for the preservation and increase of wild rams in the farms. Recommendations have been made for their further increase and expansion under natural conditions.

CSO: 1338/9

REGIONAL

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, MEMBERS' ACTIVITIES SCORED

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by V. Siryatenko, deputy editor of the Sumy Oblast newspaper LENINS'KA PRAVDA: "Provocateurs in the Role of Prophets: Dirty Methods of the Leaders of the So-Called 'Council of Churches' and Their Tutors From the 'Free World'"]

[Excerpts] His voice breaks with excitement but nevertheless every word sounds expressive and clear in the small room:

"Yes, I condemn my past activity, which, as I became convinced, was directed to harm our state and society. I refuse to participate in the illegal activity of the 'Council of Churches' and I cease all ties with its leadership--Kryuchkov and others. Because I became convinced that the 'council' is maintaining extremely close ties with the capitalist West and is slandering our system. It is opposing the registration of believers in the legally prescribed manner. The actions of the leaders of the council, who are inspired by the not unknown Georgiy Vins, have long since lost any connection with religion. I ask the court to consider my sincere repentance."

The way to this repentance was long and difficult for Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Petrenko. It was hard for him to come to this perception.

But what is this "Council of Churches"? Who are Kryuchkov, Vins and the others in whose company Petrenko was involved, the case of whom was reviewed not so long ago by the people's court of the city of Shostka?

In our country, there is an All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists. It is a legal organization that is loyal to the Soviet regime. But this very loyalty did not at all suit the Baptist pastors disposed to extremism, at the head of whom were Georgiy Vins and Gennadiy Kryuchkov. At the beginning of the 1960's, they openly broke with the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists and formed the so-called "Council of Churches." The basic creed of the "council," in reality, came to be the struggle for "rebirth of the spirit" and the "alienation of faith away from this world," that is, away from Soviet reality. Vins and Kryuchkov categorically rejected the registration of the religious group as provided for by the laws, and they made it their main task to incite religious fanaticism and psychosis among Baptists and to forbid the children of believers to go to the movies or the theater or to associate with children of the same age who are pioneers or Komsomol members. They fought in

favor of abolishing the atheistic education of students in schools and in favor of refusing to serve in the Soviet Army. In addition, they provoked members of their own group to conflicts with organs of the Soviet regime, later using these "facts" for malicious slandering of our reality. How? By sending them with "faithful people" to the West, where this nonsense was eagerly used by anti-Soviet subversive centers and bourgeois mass communications media. The more insolent the calumny and the more fantastic the inventions, the better. For even Kryuchkov, the head of the "Council of Churches," once declared to his confederates: "Frankly, it must be said and one cannot close his eyes to the fact that once the flow of information that way (that is, overseas--editor) stops, then there will be no more prayers there (meaning charity for Kryuchkov and those with him--editor). And by the way, it never hurts to have more persecution."

And therefore, provoke more and more conflicts with representatives of the regime and, at the same time, frighten believers with new supposed persecution.

G. Vins is the grandson of an American Baptist preacher and is a former secretary of the "Council of Churches." Quite unexpectedly both for him and his overseas protectors, he was expelled from our country for malicious anti-Soviet activity. That happened precisely at the time when in the West there was much fanfare about him, as though he were a martyr suffering "persecution for the cause of the holy church" and they even fabricated--not without the participation of the "martyr"--rumors about his "untimely death after unbearable torture in prison."

Vins thus appeared in the best of health before the eyes of his protectors. And he proclaimed himself head of the "foreign representation of the Council of Churches." But no matter how he persisted, interest in him by the Western press--generally eager for sensations--declined markedly. Except that from time to time some dirty papers of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalists of the type "Shlyakha peremogi" informed of his foreign trips and appeals along with delirious gossip about the "heroic" actions of the bloody executioners who were damned by the Ukrainian people. And Vins was not bothered by the fact that at "conferences," "meetings" and other assemblies he was accompanied by individuals such as Oleksa Garbuzyuk. Yes, this same Garbuzyuk who during the years of the Great Patriotic War headed a mission of Baptist Christians that developed its missionary work on the territory of our country temporarily occupied by the fascists and that consecrated their deeds with the Cross and prayers. Garbuzyuk is not at the head of the "All-Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Brotherhood of the United States and Canada," and he spares no efforts in finishing off what he received in the CIA's backyard.

It was up to Vins to involve himself in the same thing. A reanimated prophet heading up the "foreign representation of the Council of Churches"--not without the help of that same CIA--he took over the work with zeal. Here is what Vins demands in one of his letters from Kryuchkov, the head of the "Council of Churches": "...It is essential for you to establish an information department there that would involve itself with information, with the gathering of information for our internal needs. This information should be completely exhaustive and, if possible, illustrated. We have ways to provide for the broad use of this information in the press."

Futile efforts. Vins himself acknowledges this reluctantly. In his messages to the "Council of Churches," he grieves: "Many of those here have been in the USSR and have seen the true situation of the church and believers, and it is now very difficult to convince them of the contrary. In addition, there are letters from believers in the USSR. These letters depict God's work in our country as being completely negative, saying that there is complete dissension there, a general hostility, and discord among the brothers. And this evokes unrest here." The trial in the case of Anatoliy Petrenko clearly illustrates these words. Yes, things are not going well for the pseudo-pastors. More and more believers see who they are and whom they serve.

A. Petrenko, a citizen of the small town of Dhostka in Sumy Oblast, long ago became entangled in the nets cast by the pastors from the "Council of Churches." They noticed his vain striving to excel among the flock and to raise his standing in the eyes of those around him. He was initially active in secondary roles. He organized secret meetings of "brothers and sisters," in which he called upon them to live not according to the laws of Soviet society but according to the "orders of the holy church." In addition, he disseminated all sorts of "appeals" illegally published through the gifts of Western subversive centers, and also "secret messages" and "fraternal fliers," the basic contents of which were lies and slander against Soviet society.

These activities cannot be considered anything other than anti-Soviet. And that is how the people's court described them when it twice brought Petrenko to criminal justice. In the gorispolkom and the legal organs, they patiently explained to him that every Soviet citizen, regardless of whether or not he is a believer, is obliged to respect and observe the laws of his country, including those on religious cults. Please, they said to him, register the group of believers that you are leading and satisfy your own religious requirements.

Petrenko answered these exhortations in his own way. He disappeared to parts unknown, abandoning his wife and seven children. By the way, parts unknown is for relatives and neighbors. The "council" knows very well where its "servant of God, persecuted for his faith," is.

At the illegal congress of the church in Khartsyzsk, he is elected "evangelist." The "Council of Churches" entrusts him with more delicate and responsible missions requiring particular elusiveness and hypocrisy.

Everywhere where the "poisonous seeds of discord" appeared, believers decided, in the end, to live according to their own minds and not as ordered by the self-styled pastors and their inspirers in the person of the "International Center for the Study of Religion and Communism," "Mission of Stefan," "Slavic Mission" and other anticommunist clerical organizations.

In the dictionary of the Russian language, the word "evangelist" means a person who announces the good news. But Petrenko gradually came to the conviction that the "good news" that he brought did not give to his fellow believers either joy or peace. In addition, he began to understand who is behind the "Council of Churches" and whose will in the United States "council representative" Vins is carrying out.

At first, the "evangelist" drove away these thoughts, but they gave him no peace and ate at his heart. He decided to speak frankly with the ringleader of the "Council of Churches." For what they are doing to please Vins is not serving God but is politics. Kryuchkov reacted violently. The "main pastor" of the scismatics rebuked Petrenko worse than a market woman. And toward the end, he ordered him to dismiss these bad thoughts so as not to bring misfortune down upon his own head.

The vacillation, doubts and attempts to find truth in the bosom of the "holy church" were over for Petrenko. The "Council of Churches" stopped trusting him.

Deprived of the means to exist, Petrenko tried to find refuge among those whom he had only recently called upon "to protest" and "not to submit to the authorities." At the end of December of last year, the district police inspector came to the apartment in Gomel where he had come to stay....

And here, in place of fear, came a feeling of relief. He shared his experiences with the investigating judge. The investigating judge made Petrenko familiar with the "letters of protest," the "declarations" and the "appeals" that his "brothers and sisters" were writing from all over under the dictation of their bosses. Familiar handwriting and familiar methods, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich shook his head contritely:

"It is a futile and ungrateful undertaking. Even if they had not arrested me today, I would certainly have come on my own accord tomorrow. I could not go on living that way."

Petrenko had had enough time to try to find an answer to the question of "how to go on living." There is no way back to the ringleaders of the "persecuted church." He served them faithfully, and when he allowed himself to doubt the correctness of their dangerous activities, they immediately surrounded him with alienation.

Then there was the trial, in which the ringleaders of the Baptist scismatics were counting on assigning "Brother Anatoliy" the role of the next "sacrifice for faith." Only it did not happen. Petrenko sincerely admitted his own guilt. With his testimony, he helped to put some light on the dirty methods and on the unworthy game being played by the leaders of the self-styled "church" and their overseas tutors.

"Take Kryuchkov, the chairman of the 'Council of Churches'," relates Petrenko, "in the eyes of the West, he does everything he can to emphasize his leading role in the life of the 'persecuted church' and his incontestable influence on believers. This is pure fiction. He has not been seen for a long time, even among his accomplices. He prefers to sit it out in the comfortably equipped shelters surrounded by close 'sisters'. He tapes his speeches and instructions with the latest appeals 'not to make peace with the authorities' and to 'protest against persecution', and he sends them out with faithful people. He takes cruel revenge on those who allow themselves to disobey the 'apostle' from the bunker...."

Or take the members of the "Council of Churches," Rumachik and Baturin, those who in the illegal workshops "cooked" the spiritual "food" for the ordinary "children of God." Manyakov, still another member of the "Council of Churches," as in the case of the above mentioned Garbuzyuk, a friend of Vins, served the fascists faithfully in the past. Only not with a cross but with a submachine gun. As part of a punitive battalion, he participated in the massacre of Soviet patriots.

"We were especially disgusted to learn that President Reagan received the renegade and slanderer Vins with all honors," says Petrenko indignantly. An angel of mercy has appeared! With one hand he accepted a pocket edition of the Gospel, and with the other he blessed the deployment in Western Europe of the "winged death" intended for all without exception, including believers.

Let us add that at that reception Vins sounded off that the work of the "Council of Churches" must, you see, be directed toward the "evangelization of our entire country...." And it is no accident that of late the pastor is more and more often directing his gaze to the FRG, where Mission "Friedenstimme" [Voice of Peace] has recently begun to proclaim itself more and more loudly. Against whom is this mission raising its voice? The basic goal of the "mission," in the words of Vins himself, is to "help the persecuted brotherhood" in our country.

The trial in the Petrenko case took place in an atmosphere of great publicity, with the participation of the community of Shostka. The verdict stressed that Petrenko deserves severe punishment for previously committed antisocial actions and for violations of Soviet legislation on religious cults. But considering his sincere repentance as well as the condition of his health, the court thinks that it is possible not to deprive him of his freedom.

After a few days, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich got a job. He is receiving skilled medical help at a municipal hospital. No one reproaches him for the past. And this is natural. Our society is humane in its treatment of those who break with an unworthy past and sincerely take the path of correction.

Such is the end of the case of the former "evangelist," to the great dissatisfaction of the leaders of the "Council of Churches" and those with them. They would very much like to see a different outcome. It did not happen. As Petrenko is already saying, and not just he but many believers, they want to live honestly, according to Soviet laws, and not as ordered by "well-wishers" beyond the ocean. Here are just a few examples from Sumy Oblast. In Shostka, the group of scismatics that Petrenko once led has practically ceased to exist. Mikhail Solodovnikov from the town of Belopol'ye, a chief of that same group, has condemned his own actions. Aleksandr Belov, one of the leaders of the Sumy community, has broken with his extremist accomplices and called upon believers to register themselves. The process of the failure of the "champions for pure faith" is in conformance to principles and is irreversible.

Nevertheless, it is too early to bring this matter to a close. All of us must be even more persistent in fighting for every person who falls under the pernicious influence of religious extremists. It is essential to reject decisively both the ideological diversion packaged as religion and all sorts of provocateurs who disguise themselves in the toga of prophets.

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SSR UNITED POLITICAL DAY, FOCUS ON YOUTH

GF210748 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 84

[Excerpt] The united political day held in the republic today was dedicated to the tasks of the Armenian komsomol to improve the party organization of the komsomol and raise the role of the komsomol in the communist education of the youth.

The meetings, seminars, and lectures in the establishments, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and education establishments noted that the komsomol youths are actively participating in the fulfillment of the party's targets and communist education of the young generation.

The political day, in which participated members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and commissions, and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, once again displayed the devotion of the republic's komsomol members and youth to the party's leadership and their readiness to unswervingly fulfill all the tasks set by the true party.

CSO: 1838/8

REGIONAL

ADVENTISTS POISON OWN CHILDREN'S MINDS AGAINST SOVIET ORDER

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by S. Mayskiy: "Brothers-Swindlers From the 'True Remnant'"]

[Text] Mystery enveloped this sturdy home on Litovskaya Street since 1977 when a young conjugal pair settled down here. Cars converged on the house with dimmed headlights under the cover of darkness. Figures with packages and bundles appeared from the darkness, like apparitions.

The nocturnal strangers constantly dropped in on the owner of another home which stands beyond the Tashkent city limits, in the Salar village soviet on Zavodskaya Street.

The late visits continued night after night but the midnight vigils, apparently, did not greatly tire the owners, the strong rosy-cheeked fellows, the kind about whom they say are "the very picture of health." Let us get acquainted with them: Gennadiy Gennad'yevich Bedarev from Litovskaya Street and Gennadiy Stepanovich Bedarev from Zavodskaya Street, cousins.

The mysterious activity of the nightbird-brothers could not stay unnoticeable, and finally they were justifiably asked the question: what is behind the visits conducted at such an irregular time?

Prepared, the Bedarevs answered simultaneously "A church secret!"

Let us make this clear: the brothers considered themselves adherents to the Church of Seventh Day Adventists "of the True Remnant." It is possible to simply call them adventists-reformists.

Gennadiy Stepanovich loves to quote from the Bible. He swears: "This is a holy book for me, the measure of all things and actions." But in this very book it is said: "The true church cannot be secret, since a town, standing on a mountain, cannot be hidden."

But "to be on a mountain," that is, in view, does not interest the Bedarev cousins. Who would wish that not your very best actions should be in public view? But the actions of the servant reformists of the church hardly ever conform to the moral norms of believers who wrote on "the tables of the

testament." With them, for example, there was the prohibition against false witness or the prohibition against coveting another's property. The cousins have committed such sins and that is why they want to hide under the cover of the "church secret."

...The life style, biography and even history of illness of the cousins are strikingly similar. We would not begin to divulge these stories, to get to know them, if the brothers were really ill. But....

The history of Gennadiy Stepanovich's illness, for example, began in 1968 in the town of Taldy-Kurgan, in Kazakhstan. His pious mother, with tears, told the doctors of the local psychoneurological dispensary the terrifying episode from the life of her son Genya. At 1 year of age, when still slow-witted, he fell off his bed, and, when he reached six, he managed to fall off the roof.

We will leave this story, which is surprisingly reminiscent of the flânelette of one character from the film comedy "St. George's Day," to the conscience of the old faithful woman. The heartsick medics believed the story; it so amazed them that they did not pay attention to one curious fact. The youth under consultation was of draft age, and until that time when he had received notice from the military commissariat, he had not had any illnesses. G. S. Bedarev did not feel the necessity to go to the doctors until his motherland needed him to fulfill his citizen's obligation.

We will not dispute the professional merits of the Taldy-Kurgan doctors, but their excessive trustfulness became negligence, and this allowed the young Bedarev to play his trump card. He was released from army service after a 10-day examination in the hospital and then in a year the VTEK [Medical Commission for Determination of Disability] of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon recognized G. S. Bedarev as an invalid of the second group on the basis of medical documents collected earlier.

And so this was how the original indulgence was written out, which freed the youth, in the picture of health, not only from service in the army, but from socially useful activity, work. Moreover, the "invalid since childhood" continued to receive continuous material aid from the state. He regularly put aside his pension in a savings-bank book and in this way accumulated more than 3,000 rubles. (No, we are not divulging his deposit secret--Gennadiy Stepanovich himself confessed this.) The parasite and swindler lived very comfortably under the cover of the diagnosis: "post-traumatic imbecility."

Apparently, this diagnosis rendered a magical effect also on the specialists of the republic clinical psychiatric hospital No 1 in Tashkent. They did not think to correct the mistake of their Taldy-Kurgan colleagues, when G. S. Bedarev moved to a permanent residence in the capital oblast. However, they would not have been able to do this, because they did not even see the patient when he was ill. From the history of the illness it becomes clear that notes of the sort "the attacks continue" or "he suffers from headaches" were made...on the basis of his mother's words. She industriously visited

the hospital and freely received expensive medicine. Thus it was not necessary to exhibit Gennadiy Stepanovich's feeble-mindedness....

The cousins have acting ability. The other Bedarev, Gennadiy Gennad'yevich needed acting ability shortly before his induction into the army. It was then, after earlier having exasperated the doctors with visits, that he suddenly had an attack of epilepsy. In the central regional hospital of the Azerbaijani town of Khachmas Gennadiy Gennad'yevich took part in a 3-minute spectacle. He himself was the main hero; he masterfully smacked himself on the floor, rolled his eyes to the back of his head, breathed rapidly. Little remained for the second participant of the scene in the doctor's office, neuropathologist Agalar Gasan-ogly Dzhavadov to do: he entered the diagnosis-summary on the medical chart. That is, one that the leading character wanted to see.

Agalar Gasan-ogly again served Bedarev, when they called him for medical observation to the enlistment office. Before Dzhavadov, who was a member of the commission, it wasn't even necessary to perform a second spectacle; draftee G. G. Bedarev, as an epileptic, was freed from army service. He got away with it until another doctor of the Khachmas central region hospital M. Akhmedov with whom Gennadiy Gennad'yevich accidentally had an appointment in Dzhavadov's absence, raised a significant question about the diagnosis of epilepsy.

We will note that soon after Dzhavadov examined G. G. Bedarev, it was necessary to interrupt his medical practice for a 3-year period. He spent this period, as it is said, not very far from the sentencing of the people's court; he was caught red-handed as a bribe-taker. It is true birds of a feather flock together and both Bedarev, and Dzhavadov were caught like fish in troubled waters....

As far as the recent medical examination of the cousins, there was no sign found of psychiatric illness in either G. S. or G. G. Bedarev. Their past behavior was called simulated. The doctors' opinion coincided with the claim of both Bedarevs that they were completely healthy. By the way, after 1978 G. G. Bedarev did not visit doctors and G. S. Bedarev, passed the medical commission without a hitch and received a driver's license.

Excellent health helped Gennadiy Gennad'yevich hold down several jobs. Like an autumn leaf, he fussed about towns and villages covering up his tracks. Apparently he did not especially believe that the faked diagnosis would save him from service. He feared that people would find him who would call him to fulfill his holy constitutional obligation. But the inveterate parasite did not want to serve in the army. And so he resorted to an uncalculable number of acts of false witness in order to remain invisible to the police. He was registered in the village soviet in Kabardino-Balkariya but he did not live there 1 day. He applied to go to Armavir, but turned up in Kazakhstan. There he was registered and lived in Tashkent. He got a job in Syrdarya Oblast. We note, that he did this as a blind. In the Voroshilovskiy combine G. G. Bedarev was hardly seen. His fabrication went so far that with a living wife and three children, he had documents to show that he was a bachelor.

When representatives of the state came to the mysterious house on Litovskaya Street in order to find out what Gennadiy Gennad'yevich was doing, he tried to make a run for it over the fence. When he saw that the way was cut off, he grabbed a shovel atilt, as if he had studied bayonet warfare his entire life and was ready to use this weapon. With this he did not remember the sixth commandment: do not kill. Such a godly commandment serves only under cover, when the swindlers dodged service in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

The cousins very much wished that many of the episodes from their life would have remained covered by the darkness of unknowing.

G. G. Bedarev built a basement in his house like a spacious bunker. And he did not keep pickles and jam there but more than 2,000 slanderous booklets, a half ton of paper, a typewriter, on which was printed the texts of different kinds of "letters" and "conversations." Gennadiy Gennad'yevich assured the authorities that all these books were exclusively religious. He forgot why he needed the paper in such a large quantity. And how could the swindler remember why he kept clean blanks of certificates of the public inspector of GAI [State Automobile Inspection] a collaborator of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and the republic scientific production association Uzsel'khoz-khimiya, and a whole stack of empty blanks-orders of the rayon domestic services combine.

This is the way it was, and why the Bedarevs surrounded themselves with the air of mystery, referred to the "secret of the church," as if they were honestly believers. But freedom of conscience--the right of Soviet citizens to confess any religion or not to profess any, to lead religious cults or to conduct atheistic propaganda, was understood by the cousins in their own way.

"The Battle for Freedom of Conscience With the Beast and His Image," "Prayer Readings," "Biblical Conversations"--these and other booklets of the underground press of the "True Witness" (and indeed these were found in hiding in the Bedarevs' homes) tell mainly not about the teachings of Christ or the acts of the apostles. They are pervaded by an anti-Soviet spirit. It is enough to give only one citation from "Biblical Conversations" in order to understand their intention: "Doesn't the non-fulfillment of unfair, unlawful, unjust laws of the impure state constitute a crime against personal property(?)--(here, apparently, they write about the 'private personality'--author), and not against the Caesar of the pure state."

A bit too much fog for one phrase but through the verbal tight-rope walking peeks a sufficiently clear thought: destroy the laws that exist in the country where you live; they were not written for adventists-reformists. For the destruction of laws, Soviet laws, is not a crime. Whatever you say it is a very convenient formulation of moral principles. Especially for each kind of rascal or swindler of the Bedarev type.

Naturally, one would like to know who the reformists consider the "Caesar of the pure state." The answer is found in their "conversations": it is no other than the president of the United States. Slanderously asserting that in the Soviet Union "they are carrying out genocide of believers," the

authors from the "true remnant" call on the resident of the White House: "Use all of the influence you have, your intergovernmental links and contacts: trade, economic, scientific-technical and others" in order "to raise your voice in defense of the believers." And this--is religious literature?!

And what relation to the literature do magnetic tapes have with the "sincere" wheeler dealers from foreign subversive ideological centers? The Bedarevs diligently taped and retaped anti-Soviet broadcasts of "Voice of America," BBC and Deutsche Welle, and then reproduced these in sermons. So to whom should the believers listen--the voice of God or the voice of some trans-oceanic ideological saboteur?!

This is the type of "spiritual food" that the believers were supplied with in abundance. Such were the "goods" that the nocturnal visitors delivered and carried away with them. Booklets with the "True Witness" mark were distributed to many towns from these hiding places and bunkers; they were confiscated from reformist messengers in Siberia and Zakavkazye in the Urals and Ukraine by the police. Gennadiy Gennad'yevich himself never delivered the "spiritual food."

Gennadiy Stepanovich, as the leader of the Tashkent commune of Adventists-Reformists, personally had control of the delivery and distribution of the anti-Soviet material. He gave messengers credentials, demanded a strict accounting in the use of money. And he controlled large sums of money--from this hand for a journey to Siberia, a certain D. I. Nechiporenko received 500 rubles. The "imbecilic" Bedarev, who at one time could not name the first line of a tablet of multiplication in front of the doctors, exhibited remarkable mathematical abilities. He dealt easily with five-place figures.

The figures turned out this way: each believer must give "two-tenths" or 20 percent of all their income to the head of the commune and his company. The rank-and-file believers were taxed with a solid "contribution" which was used to support the cousins-parasites. It becomes clear how the Bedarevs were able to buy high-quality homes from such resources.

No, the Bedarevs did not hope that earthly paradise would continue forever for them--there was not an influx of fresh forces into their "church." Worse than that, many, disenchanted with the reformist teaching, broke away from their "brothers." What remains in such a case when you cannot persuade your own children in the religious spirit?

A neighbor of Gennadiy Gennad'yevich remembers once when she said to his children on the street: "Run home, cartoons are being shown on TV." And with surprise she heard in response: "What is a cartoon?"

It is difficult to believe that the kids do not watch TV programs, do not go to the movies. But such is a Bedarev education. Instead of cartoons there is a frightening painted picture entitled "The Beast From the Abyss." It depicts a mythical animal--a mixture of a fanged wild boar with a brontosaurus and a lion. The monster devours...babies. This picture-illustration

is for a small domestic sermon, the sense of which is that it is necessary to fight with the image of the beast, sparing neither blood, or even life. This "beast," which frightens small children, symbolizes for the reformists such events in world history as the storming of the Bastille, the revolutionary movement in the West and in Russia, Great October.

And so drop by drop the poison of embitterment toward our way, our way of life, influences the young souls. And the fruits of such "education" is apparent--the Bedarev children refused point blank to enter the October festivities, the pioneers, do not sing together with their peers the patriotic songs. It is not allowed, it is not pleasing to God!

A spiritual violence is imposed on the conscience of the young citizens, which the reformists call their form of thinking, they inculcate their psychology into the consciousness. The maligners from the "true remnant" teach that one need not pay attention to the laws of our state, to break them.

"We cannot give half allegiance to God and half to the world: we must be children of God completely" the Bedarevs repeat the old reformist teachings. But between the words and deeds of the cousins--the "children of God"--there is a huge distance. Not less than that which separates the time when the Bible was written from our day.

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CSO: 1830/532

REGIONAL

MUUGA HARBOR CONSTRUCTION UPDATE

First Dock Under Construction

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Ya. Dmitriyev: "The First Moorage in Operation"]

[Text] Our newspaper has already reported (see issue dated 25 July of this year) that vessels are being moored starting 4 May in Muuga Bay, where the New Tallinn Harbor is under construction. Tens of vessels containing equipment and construction materials for the new port have already been unloaded here--at the fleet port and "ro-ro" docks. However, this was only a temporary measure. In the last days of September, the first working moorage in the new port--the berth for mineral construction loads--was accepted into operation.

...Within the city limits the wind is not felt so strongly, but here in the bay which is exposed on three sides it sometimes reaches hurricane force. The waves wash over the pile casings which are sunk to a depth of 24 meters into the water and the ground, and hinder the work of the cranes. Nevertheless, the harmonious collective of the integrated brigade of concrete placers, welders, carpenters, pile-drivers, and electricians headed by Vadim Podlubnyy from the SU-423 "Baltmorgidrostroy" Trust has emerged the victor in this battle with the elements and with time. The first mooring berth has been submitted for operation an entire quarter ahead of schedule.

"Actually, this is an entire complex of structures," explains the foreman of SU-423 A. Ivanov. "Aside from the berth itself which is 135 meters in length, there is also the road leading up to, a pumping station, and the improvement of the territory. We began construction in February of last year. It has not been such a long time, but we have assimilated 7.5 million rubles."

Andrey Makarovich also has kind comments about the crane operators, who have done excellent work on building the berth--Arvo Vakher and Zigmund Marinovskiy, as well as about the subcontracting organizations--the "Zapmormontazh", "Gidro-elektromontazh," and "Promsvyaz'montazh" administrations of the USSR-1 "Stroy-mekhanizatsiya" trust. It was specifically thanks to the friendly joint efforts, stressed the foreman of SU-423, that this success has been made possible.

The capacity of the first mooring dock in the port of Muuga is 150,000 tons per year. The cargo consists of sand from Kaliningrad, rubble from Karelia, and equipment from Helsinki. As yet they are all used exclusively for the construction in Muuga itself, but with the operational introduction of New Tallin Harbor the berth for mineral construction cargo will serve the interests of builders throughout the entire republic.

The first facility has been submitted for operation, and the construction of mooring berths continues. The brigade headed by Nikolay Vinogradov, and then also that of Vadim Podlubnyy, have already begun construction on a berth for refrigerated cargo--one of the main ones in the new harbor.

"Work here is organized by the work shift method," explains chief administrative engineer N. Balagura. "Twelve hours are spent each day of the week at the facility, followed by a week of rest. This order helps to better utilize all the calm days, and in combination with the brigade order--to significantly increase the labor productivity. The scheduled time for operational introduction of the berth is November of 1985. I am sure that our hydraulic builders will be able to handle this task too."

Komsomol Brigades at New Tallinn Harbor

Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 31 Aug 84 p 2

[Article: "New Tallinn Awaits"]

[Text] "The shock calls!" This is a call which is often heard, including also on the pages of MOLODEZHKA. Tyumen, Karelia and the Far East, where grandiose construction of vital national economic facilities is developing, await young, hard-working youths and girls who are full of initiative. Quite recently, in December of 1983, one more point has appeared on the map of Komsomol construction sites--the New Tallinn Harbor.

Little more than 6 months have passed since that time. Our newspaper has already presented several reports on the first steps in the construction of the trade seaport. Now we have addressed the chief of the Komsomol construction staff for New Tallinn Harbor, Alina Gordiyenko with a request to respond to one question: how is the formulation of the Komsomol shock detachments going?

The concept of the shock Komsomol for the youth of our generation, Komsomol members of the 70's and early 80's, is of course tied with the BAM [Baykal-Amur Main Line]. It is associated with the impassable taiga, with the permafrost, with the first tents and songs around the campfire, with the long road to unknown and uninhabited regions, and with future new cities and settlements. But our construction site has developed right next to Tallinn--the capital of the republic. What romanticism could there be here, some might ask.

The importance of the construction site is not measured by its remoteness from one's own doorstep. The most complex and most vital facilities for the life of

the entire country are the ones named as Komsomol shock projects. The youth have come to understand this correctly. I am judging by the lines of workers wanting to work on the construction of the harbor which form here, in the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, where the site headquarters are now located. The young people who have come on Komsomol travel permits we call, as before, volunteers.

There are 210 young builders who have already become the warriors in the two shock detachments which have been directed to the construction of the port. A third is currently being formulated. However, not everything is running as smoothly as we would like. Or, more precisely, not as it should be.

We need hardly mention the fact that the construction of such a grandiose facility as the New Tallinn Harbor is a rather complex task for the construction organizations of our republic. (It is no secret that there is a manpower shortage at construction sites as it is). Without the aid of the entire country, success here would be impossible. It is no accident that this construction site was declared an All-Union Komsomol Shock Project.

What experience has the Komsomol site headquarters gained in the first 8 months of work in terms of formulating detachments and placing personnel? What difficulties have arisen? What questions require immediate solution to ensure that work continues to be performed more efficiently and without annoying lapses?

It is quite understandable that the Komsomol travel permit is not issued to everyone. Only after talking with the candidate member for the detachment do we decide whether he is to become a warrior in the Komsomol shock project. However, selecting the best candidates is not everything. It is also necessary to consider the needs of the construction organizations for workers of one specialty or another. This is natural. However, we receive the most contradictory information from the personnel departments. First they need a certain specialist, then they don't. This is why a person has to turn to our headquarters several times so that we can find out in all the organizations whether his services will be needed at the site or not. The headquarters has several times asked the personnel departments to prepare an exact listing of the specialties and labor conditions of the workers. But, alas, the picture remains the same even to this day. As a result, young people who have come to the construction site with the desire to work often go back with nothing for their troubles, as they say.

We need not search far for examples of this. In the spring after the demobilization, young men came to us who had made the decision to become participants in the All-Union site while they were still in the army service. (At the decision of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, the Komsomol committees of the Pre-Baltic military district had performed extensive work on attracting young people to our construction site). It would seem we should rejoice. However, in fact everything turned out differently. The Tallinstroy Trust refused to accept them for work, even temporarily, without a passport. Just picture this. A young man is ready to start work now, especially since his friends who have been tested in the service are by his side. Instead he is told: we'll take you, but first go home, fill out the proper documents, and then come back. He goes away, but whether or not he will return--that is the big question.

This is how it goes. Half of yesterday's soldiers who came to us for Komsomol travel passes have left for good. Could this have been avoided? Of course. Now we have at least succeeded in convincing the Tallinstroy personnel department to hire the young people for work temporarily, i.e., until they receive their passport from their last place of residence.

No such problems arose at the Stroymekhanizatsiya Trust. Men who had been discharged from the army were immediately hired for work, housed in dormitories, and arrangements were even made for them to start taking evening and correspondence courses in the fall if they wished. Quite recently a correspondent from the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA came to Tallinn. We visited the Stroymekhanizatsiya Trust with him. We spoke with pipe layers Aleksandr Tregubenko, Sergey Antropov, Soverkaliy Zhaksymbetov and other fellows. Their brigade is fighting for the right to be called a Komsomol-youth brigade, and they will surely achieve this honor, since they are fulfilling the plan and there are never any complaints about the quality of their work. In general, the fellows are happy with their work as well as with their living conditions.

I would like to deal specifically with the role of the Komsomol construction organization committees in hiring and retaining volunteers. The Komsomol members of Tallinstroy can serve as an example here, as they immediately try to attract newcomers to their collective. Young people just start work, and already they have participated in the Summer Youth Days, because this time Tallinstroy held them in conjunction with the warriors of the All-Union Shock Project. The trust's Komsomol Committee Secretary Sergey Levchenko presented a report at the last meeting of the site headquarters staff. Having listened to him, we can only hope that the Tallinstroy administration will show an equal interest in the warriors of this detachments as the Komsomol organization of this trust has.

Now--a word about our business contacts with the Komsomol raykoms and gorkom. We must speak first of all about the Komsomol Marine Raykom. After all, the port is being built on its territory. Who else but this raykom should give maximal attention and interest to this construction site? However, as yet we are receiving only valuable indications and directives from it, and are still issuing all sorts of data. As concerns the Tallinn Komsomol gorkom, its optimistic decision to direct 60 workers to the All-Union Shock Project still remains a decision made on paper: not a single Komsomol member has been sent there.

I had to answer only one question--that of the personnel problem. However, like it or not, I had to mention other problems as well which are in one way or another associated with the formation of the detachments.

This, first of all, concerns poster propaganda on the construction site territory. It is clear that it must be not only meaningful, but also eye-catching, bright and attractive. We cannot do without the help of professionals here. However, the Tallin combine of the ESSR Artist's Fund "Ars" has refused to fill our order. And after all, our request is not a singular one. We are, after all, speaking of the only All-Union Shock Construction Project in the republic at this time.

Secondly, in Muuga, where construction is underway, there is still no trailer to house the Komsomol staff. How many times we have spoken and written of this to the republic's Ministry of Construction! Now a trailer has been allocated. It remains only to specify where exactly it should be placed (after all, the construction site is huge) and when it will finally be delivered. We hope that it will be soon.

All the problems which we have mentioned must be solved without delay so as not to hold up formulation of the third shock detachment for the Komsomol site. The volunteers coming to the All-Union Shock Project must be able to work with full output from their very first days on the job. They must feel that they are needed here, that they are warriors on the forefront.

Recruitment of Young Construction Workers

Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 4 Oct 84 p 1

[Article: "Volunteers! New Tallinn Harbor Awaits You!"]

[Text] New Tallinn Harbor is one of the most important national economic facilities, and it is being built by the entire country. This is why this construction site has been proclaimed an All-Union Komsomol Shock Project. There are currently over 200 young men and girls with Komsomol travel passes working here.

The preliminary work has generally been completed. Now it remains to erect the main structures--the grain complex and the complex for perishable goods. The level of mechanization in the new port will be exceptionally high.

In the current year the work volume at New Tallinn Harbor will comprise around 2 million rubles, and next year the figure will exceed 5 million. This is why a work force is so urgently needed at the construction site. The Estonian Komsomol Central Committee is currently forming the third detachment of volunteer Komsomol members, which has its own assignment. While the warriors of the first detachments are working generally in the construction organizations of the ESSR Ministry of Construction taking part in the construction of the port, the new contingent will work directly in the port.

It is being built with the aid of powerful technology. Therefore, the first requirement is for young people with specialties in construction. These are excavating machine operators, crane operators, floating crane machine operators, bricklayers, painters, plasterers, carpenters, concrete placers, and pile drivers. These specialties may be mastered directly in the brigade or in a training combine, taking time away from production. During the training period, the trainees are paid a stipend in the sum of first category wage rate. All those sent on Komsomol travel passes are paid a one-time monetary payment in the order which has been agreed upon.

The organizations participating in the construction of the port have improved dormitories which provide all the conditions necessary for rest after the work day.

To be a warrior in a Komsomol Shock Construction Project is a respected and responsible task. New Tallinn Harbor awaits you, young builders!

Those wishing to work at the Komsomol Shock Project should send their inquiries addressed to: city of Tallinn, Kreuksa Street, 20, No 402, Telephone: 44-64-12, 44-69-87.

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REGIONAL

SACKED UZBEK PARTY OFFICIALS WARNING TO OTHERS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 27 September carries on page 2 a 600-word article by special correspondent K. Sabirov titled "The Assurances Were Loud." The article contains a detailed explanation of why two rayon party officials were fired from their positions. Dil'shot Dzhurayevich Tulyaganov, first secretary of the Kasan Rayon party committee, and D. Gafarov, chairman of the rayon executive committee were reprimanded and fired for combining loud rhetoric on the prospects for the cotton harvest in their rayon with poor results. "By 25 September, 11,600 tons of cotton was to have been sold to the state but in fact only 5,856 tons were realized." The two received stern warnings that if they did not correct the situation in the near future more stringent measures than reprimands would be used. "But they failed to draw the proper conclusions and ignored the decision of the obkom buro.

The obkom buro, having censured the defective leadership methods of Tulyaganov and Gafarov, gave them a severe reprimand, made entries in their account records, and removed them from their positions. "This is a serious lesson for all those not wholeheartedly enthusiastic about the task, who hide their pre-tentiousness behind loud rhetoric."

TASHKENT HOSTS CENTRAL ASIA HIGHER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 30 September carries on page 1 a 600-word UzTAG article titled "The Party's Path Toward the Spiritual Blossoming of the Peoples." The article notes that on 29 September in Tashkent a conference was held on the theme "Higher Education in Central Asia: The Triumph of Lenin's Nationality Policy." The opening word came from Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary I.B. Usmankhodzhayev who observed that the conference had taken place on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the formation on the territory of Turkestan of today's fraternal Central Asian republics. The achievements of Central Asian economic development and the founding of institutions of higher learning were attributed to the advantages of socialism, the wisdom of the leaders of the CPSU, and the highest expression of humanism on the part of Russian scholars who traveled great distances to render help to the developing scientific establishment in Central Asia.

USSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education V.P. Elyutin gave a speech titled "The Contemporary School of Higher Education--Triumph of the Ideas of Great October." Papers were read on the main stages, the problems

and tasks in the development of higher education in the Central Asian republics by ministers of higher and secondary specialized education from the following republics: Uzbekistan, S.P. Pulatov; Kirghiziya, A.T. Tursunov; Turkmenistan, S.N. Muradov. Deputy Chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers M.T. Tursunov participated in the work of the conference.

UZBEK INSPECTION, CONTROL ADMINISTRATION 'UNDERSTAFFED'

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 30 September carries on page 1 a 700-word lead editorial titled "The Lofty Duty of the Inspection Service" that gives as reasons for the shortcomings of the Uzbek Inspection and Control Administration the fact that it is understaffed, that it needs more support from party and labor union organizations, and that the work of financial and statistical controlling organs lacks coordination. The shortage of inspection service workers is most acute in Glavsredazirsovkhozstroy [Main Central Asian Sovkhoz Irrigation Construction] whose complement of inspectors is only 80 percent of what it should be, the article notes, and where the greatest losses and thefts occur. But other ministries are experiencing shortages of inspectors. "Can one really consider it normal that in the first half of 1984 there were 496 enterprises belonging to 23 ministries and directorates that were not inspected? The plan for inspections went unfulfilled by the sector controllers of the Ministry of Cotton, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Local Industry, Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Supply, Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Ministry of Communications, Ministry of the Furniture Industry, Ministry of Culture, and Ministry of Consumer Services." Moreover, says the article, the quality of the inspections actually carried out leaves much to be desired. It often happens "that large organizations and enterprises with expenses of tens of millions of rubles are reviewed by a single inspector whose scrutiny fails to turn up tens, even hundreds of thousands of rubles lost through violations." For example "in the first half of 1984 sector controllers of the Ministry of Housing uncovered violations amounting to 345,000 rubles. But workers of the Inspection and Control Administration established that the real losses were much higher--1,595,000 rubles." Furthermore, according to the article, it does not always happen that losses are repaid. "In the first half of 1984 only 4.2 percent of the cotton industry losses were repaid. In the Ministry of Auto Transport it was only 2.9 percent; in GlavTashkentstroy, 1.2 percent; and the state fish industry was particularly egregious in this, repaying only .3 percent of its illegally spent money."

CSO: 1830/90

REGIONAL

GENERAL SESSION OF KIRGHIZ ACADEMY OF SCIENCES DETAILED

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 2 October carries on page 1 a 250-word article reporting on a general meeting of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences that took place on 1 October in Frunze. The president of the Academy, M.I. Imanaliyev, addressed the assembly. According to statements made by the participants, there are more than 60 scientific institutions in the republic at present; some 8,500 workers are involved in work at these establishments.

USUBALIYEV ATTENDS OPENING OF MEDICAL FACILITY

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 2 October carries on page 2 a 3,000-word article noting the opening on 29 September of an all-republic consultative polyclinic in Frunze, constructed for the needs of World War II veterans. Members of the Kirghiz Central Committee Buro were in attendance at the ceremonies; First Secretary T.U. Usubaliyev gave a speech to commemorate the occasion. The first secretary noted initially the general improvements in the health-care standards in the republic; there are now 12,000 doctors working in the region. He then pointed out that the opening of this facility was the latest in the efforts of the communist party to see to the well-being of those who had fought the Great Patriotic War. Usubaliyev cited examples of earlier measures adopted for their benefit: Efforts had been made to see that veterans and/or their families received improved living accommodations; the party has striven to fill needs for "personal transport" (since 1975 war-invalids have each been given a car, should they desire one); special stores have been created or designated for use by veterans only. Usubaliyev also commended those who had worked so tirelessly to erect the new medical center.

CSO: 1830/93

REGIONAL

CPSU CC MEMBERS ATTEND UZBEK OBLAST AKTIV MEETINGS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 September 1984 carries on page 1 a 250-word UzTAG report titled "Meetings of the Party Aktiv" which gives information on the party aktiv meetings of the following oblasts in Uzbekistan: Andizhan, Bukhara, Kashkadar'ya, Navoi, Namangan, Khorezm and Syrdar'ya. The Bukhara and Samarkand Oblast meetings were attended by responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee V. I. Bessarabov and A. K. Masyakin. Attendance at the other oblast meetings by Uzbek officials was as follows: Urgench (Khorezm Oblast)--chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet A. U. Salimov; Karshi (Kashkadar'ya Oblast)--secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee A. Aytmuratov; Andizhan--chairman of the Uzbek Council of Labor Unions N. M. Makhmudova.

At the aktiv meetings of the Tashkent and Samarkand Oblasts the tasks of oblast organizations in raising the responsibility of law enforcement organs for strengthening the fight against crime and violations of socialist legality were discussed. Measures for eradicating the persistent shortcomings in communist education of youth were outlined at the meetings.

CSO; 1830/85

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

GRAIN COMPLEX CORNERSTONE LAID--(ETA)--On 3 October a delegation headed by Finland's Minister of Finance A. Pekkala arrived in our republic to participate in the cornerstone laying ceremony of the grain loading complex at Novotallinn Trade Seaport, in whose construction Finnish companies are participating. Chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers B. Saul greeted the foreign guests. Participating in the friendly discussions were USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade V. Suchkov, USSR Deputy Minister of the Maritime Fleet L. Nedyak, Head of the Transport Department of the USSR State Planning Committee D. Zotov, Deputy Chairmen of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers P. Palu and A. Tregubov, and Estonian SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Gren. The delegation was accompanied by Acting Consul General of Finland in Leningrad T. Lakhelma. Finland's Minister of Finance A. Pekkala and the persons accompanying him left the republic on the same day. [Text] [Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 4 Oct 84 p 1] 12322

LENINAKAN AWARDED PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP BANNER--Celebrations were held in Leninakan yesterday marking the presentation of the People's Friendship Banner to the city and the 60th anniversary of naming Aleksandrapov after Lenin. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Babken Sarkisov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; and party and soviet officials attended the celebrations. On the presidium were Comrades Karen Demirchyan, Babken Sarkesov, Leonid Nersesyan, Ayda Topuzyan, Donara Arutyunyan, Martin Arutyunyan, Murad Muradyan, Levon Saakyan, and party, soviet, trade union, and komsomol organization leaders. Demirchyan, first secretary the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech. At the conclusion of his speech Comrade Demirchyan read the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree presenting Leninakan with the People's Friendship Banner. [Excerpts] [Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 3 Nov 84 GF]

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY PRESIDENT RECEIVED--On 9 October, F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, received the president of the International Control Academy, A. Kenny (Ireland). F.T. Sarkisyan briefed the guest on the socioeconomic achievements of the Armenian SSR and the organization and method of national economy control in the republic. The meeting was attended by Y.Y. Khoszhaniryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and B.Z. Mil'ner, member of the USSR branch of the International Control Academy and deputy director of the All-Union Systems Research Institute. [Text] [Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 10 Oct 84 p 2 GF]

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